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ABSTRACT

This volume of papers reports the fieldwork and linguistic analysis done on K'ekchi, a Mayan language spoken by about 500,000 people in the departments of Alta Verapaz and Peten in Guatemala as well as in the southern part of Belize. The work was done by five anthropology and linguistics graduate students at the University of Texas at Austin with a K'ekchi language consultant from Coban, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala, during 1974-75. A field report on the project is followed by six papers dealing with K'ekchi phonology, morphology, syntax, case, and kinship structure. A K'ekchi text follows, along with a translation, dealing with the agricultural season as seen by the project consultant. A K'ekchi word list is also provided. An appendix contains a historical sketch of K'ekchi within the Mayan family and an outline grammar of K'ekchi. An exhaustive bibliography of articles and books about K'ekchi and its speakers completes the volume. (Author/AM)

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TEXAS LINGUISTIC FORUM

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STUDIES IN K'EKCHI

EDITED BY
SANDRA PINKERTON

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
The University of Texas at Austin

1976

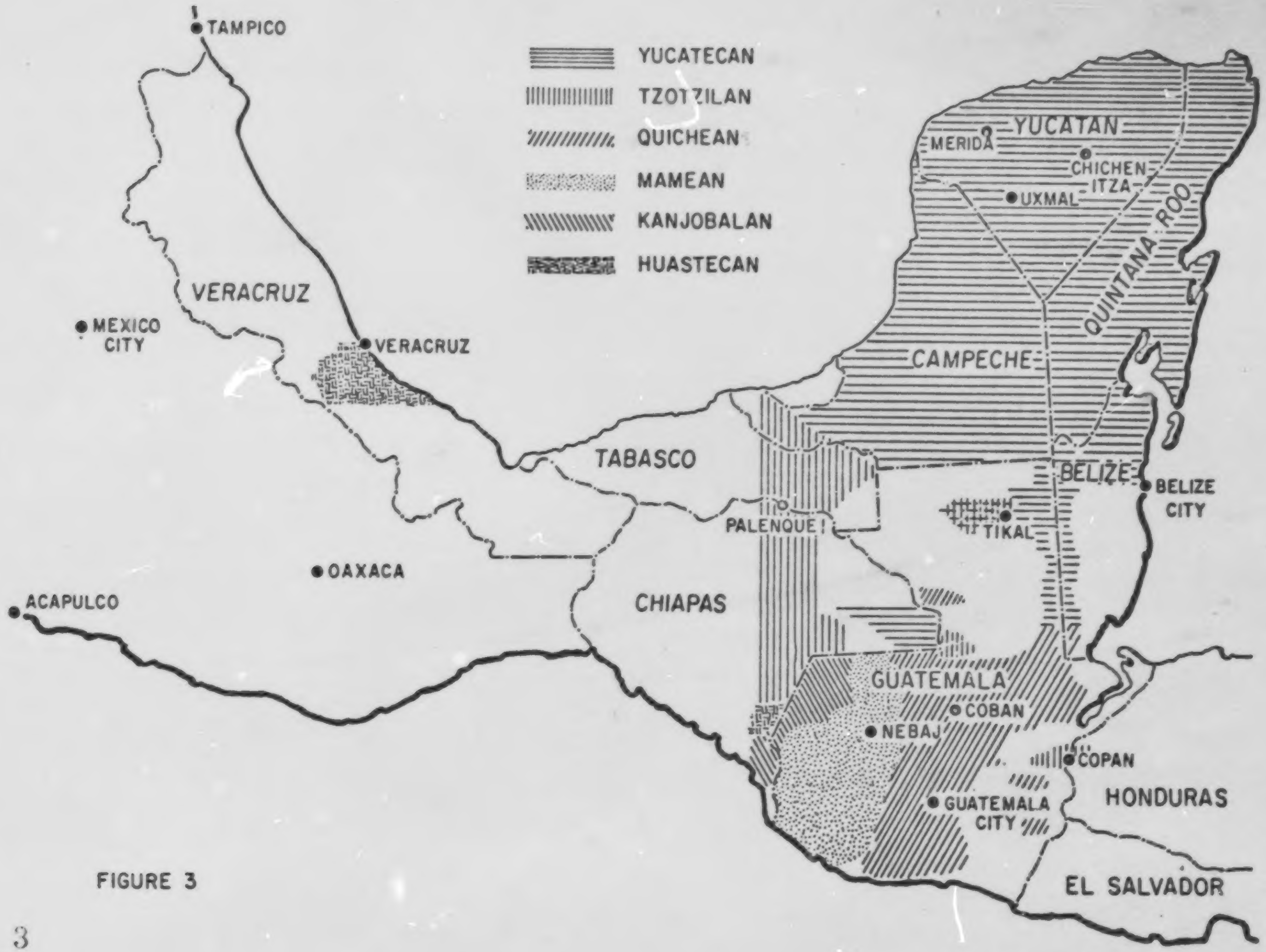
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FIGURE 3

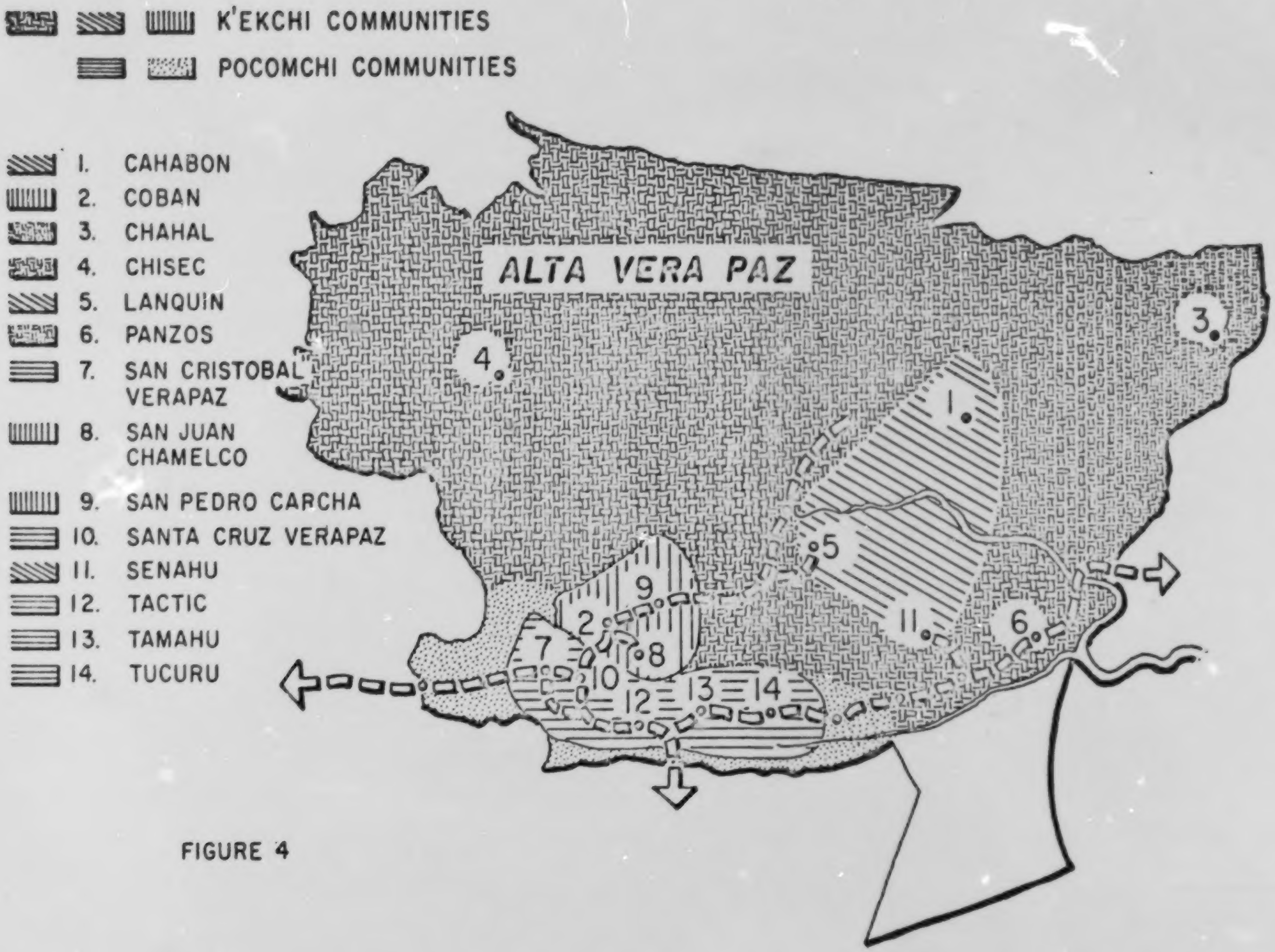

K'EKCHI COMMUNITIES
POCOMCHI COMMUNITIES
1. CAHABON
2. COBAN
3. CHAHAL
4. CHISEC
5. LANQUIN
6. PANZOS
7. SAN CRISTOBAL VERAPAZ
8. SAN JUAN CHAMELCO
9. SAN PEDRO CARCHA
10. SANTA CRUZ VERAPAZ
11. SENAHU
12. TACTIC
13. TAMAHU
14. TUCURU
ALTA VERA PAZ
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14

FIGURE 4

IN MEMORY OF

FATHER ESTEBAN HAESERIJN V.

šk'e li šč'o:l ut li šŷu?am re eb' li qas qic'in lax K'ekchi
ut škana awb'il li šč'o:l musiq' sa? eb'
li ra:m lax K'ekchi -
Flora Ac

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Dedication		iii
List of Illustrations		iiiii
Introduction	Sandra Pinkerton	1
Field Report	Marlys Bacon, Robert Freund, Pat Kennedy, Sandra Pinkerton, Robert Stone	3
Preliminary Study of K'ekchi Phonology	Sandra Pinkerton	10
A Sketch of K'ekchi Verb Morphology	Robert Freund	26
Ergativity and Word Order	Sandra Pinkerton	48
K'ekchi *kwa:nk*, the Genitive, and Oblique Cases	Robert Stone	67
K'ekchi Clause Structure	Marlys Bacon	77
K'ekchi Kinship	Pat Kennedy	94
Text: "Li K'alek, Li A:wk, ut Li Q'olok"	Flora Ac and Sandra Pinkerton	102
K'ekchi Word List	Robert Freund	111
Appendix: Historical and Geographical Sketch of K'ekchi within the Mayan Language family; Outline Grammar of K'ekchi		160
Bibliography		169

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Picture - Flora Maria de Guadalupe Ac Caal	ii
Kinship Charts	100
Mayan Languages: Family Tree	161
Map	162
K'ekchi/Pocomchi Languages - Map of Present Locations in Alta Verapaz, Guatemala	164

INTRODUCTION

Those of us who worked with Flora Ac on the K'ekchi project have come a full circle. What began inauspiciously in the Fall of 1974 as a routine Linguistic Field Methods course has ended very satisfactorily with this report of our findings. We have experienced an extensive range of fieldwork activities. We have contacted an informant, proposed our plans to faculty members and funding agencies and arranged the financial and administrative details of our informant's stay. We have collected and analyzed the linguistic data and integrated ethnographic and linguistic information about the Mayans and their languages with the collected data, and lastly, we have undertaken to write this report for distribution to linguists and other investigators.

One of the hardest tasks has been stopping here. All of us are aware that there are unresolved questions in each of the contributed papers. We are keenly aware of the questions we should have asked, almost asked and should not have asked our informant. We are also aware that there are areas of K'ekchi grammar we barely touched or ignored all together. Morphophonemics, negation and question formation are glaring gaps in the data we present here. However, Flora could not stay here forever, and we do need to synthesize our findings in order to better understand the direction any future work on our part should take. Therefore, we present this volume as a progress report, hoping that it will contribute some information about K'ekchi of interest to Mayanists and theoretical linguists, and that it will promote further communication and discussion about K'ekchi and the Mayan languages.

There are two factors without which our enthusiasm and energy toward the K'ekchi project would have waned and disappeared: financial assistance and the encouragement and stimulation we received from people near and far.

We received financial assistance for our research from several sources which we would like to gratefully acknowledge. I am particularly thankful for the Dissertation Grant I received from the Ford Foundation's Mexican-American Doctoral Program which allowed me to bring Flora to Austin. Additionally the Department of Anthropology and the Latin American Archaeology Program which is administered through the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin provided our project with funds. Without this financial assistance we might not have experienced as complete a field experience as we have. In fact, we might not have experienced one at all.

The encouragement and stimulation we received came from people with whom we corresponded and people who were here at the University of Texas at Austin.

Our correspondence with other investigators of K'ekchi, some of whom have worked for years in Guatemala was especially rewarding. Lyle Campbell and Ray Freeze sent us copies of their work and gladly exchanged ideas with us. Francis Eachus and Ruth Carlson entertained our hypotheses and nudged us in directions which proved fruitful. Father Esteban Haeserijn merits particular notice because of the respect and love Flora has for him, and because the thoughtfulness and encouragement he offered Flora (and us) came at a difficult time in his life. His principal concern seemed to be his desire that Flora have a sucessful stay here. His capacity for mental organization and abstraction was to be used by her to complement her native knowledge of K'ekchi. Via his concern for Flora, he became actively interested in our work, even though he became ill shortly after Flora arrived in Austin. His letters were filled with data supporting his observations about grammatical items of interest to us. We were all dismayed when we learned that he had died June, 1975. For those of us investigating K'ekchi, his death creates a void for we shall miss the warm support and insights of a man obviously involved with and dedicated to the K'ekchi people. Flora's dedication of this volume very aptly states her feelings and the feelings of the K'ekchis who knew Father Esteban. "He gave his heart and his life to our K'ekchi brothers; his heart and his spirit remained rooted in the soul of the K'ekchis."

In Austin, a number of people contributed to the sucess of the K'ekchi project. Dr. Robert Harms encouraged us from beginning to end. Because of his support our only limits have been our own lack of time and energy. The publication of this volume is due largely to his patience and consistent backing. Dr. Joel Sherzer taught the Linguistic Field Methods course in the Fall of 1974, and, from the beginning was very enthusiastic. He was instrumental in helping me arrange for Flora's arrival and helped get additional financial assistance for Flora during that semester. Because of his energy, our project got off to an excellent start. We missed him when he took leave of absence in the Spring. In the Fall of this year, he returned to chair a round table presentation of some of our work at the LASSO Conference in San Antonio, Texas. Drs. Louanna Furbee-Losee and Sue Schmerling became our resource people in the Spring. Louanna, with her extensive work in the field on Tojolabal, helped us constrain and modify some of our crazier ideas by teaching us about the grammar of other Mayan languages. She also encouraged our communication with other Mayanists. Sue provided us with a linguistic bibliography to match the grammatical areas being investigated and was always available to discuss our findings. She helped me tremendously during the editing of this volume by reading and commenting on the contributed papers... and by soothing my fevered brow.

Wayne Higgins was the discovery of the year! His art work was the visual expression of the quality we hoped to achieve in the finished progress report. Kathy Flores and Donna Moorhead were principally responsible for the transformation of rough drafts of much of this volume into the finished typed version you see before you. Dr. Robert Harms is responsible for Flora's picture.

Marlys Bacon and Bob Freund quickly became "my partners in crime". Marlys must be credited with seeking out and getting extra funding for our project in the Spring, and for consistently fantasizing with me about the possible directions of future research. Bob did a major job of proofreading, never tiring of discussing the inconsistencies in our various approaches to the grammar of K'ekchi. Much of what is good about this volume is due to such conversation.

There are two people left that I wish to acknowledge: Flora Maria de Guadalupe Ac Caal, our informant, and John Hutchinson, my husband. John provided financial assistance and did a great deal of proofreading of the papers in this report. Flora was the mainstay of our project. She never tired of answering our questions. She helped me make many good tapes of her K'ekchi, transcribed the tapes we recorded, compiled lists and listened and talked with us about our descriptions of the data she gave us.

Flora and John were my family during the year Flora was in Austin. Whatever I anticipated, I did not expect Flora's stay to be as personally affecting as it turned out to be. Each of us found the path from acquaintance to friendship to family to be filled with a number of surprises. It is a tribute to the sensitivity, gentleness and intelligence of both Flora and John that our year together was a success.

Sandra Pinkerton
Austin, Texas
Fall, 1975

FIELD REPORT

In August, 1974, Flora Maria de Guadalupe Ac Caal, an unmarried 25 year old K'ekchi (Mayan) woman arrived in Austin from Coban, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala (for information about K'ekchi and Coban, Alta Verapaz, see Appendix). She spent eleven months at the University of Texas at Austin working with a variety of students and faculty members from the Departments of Anthropology and Linguistics. During the fall semester, several students worked with Flora in a Field Methods class offered by the Anthropology Department. At the end of the semester, we were eager to try working with Flora individually for longer periods. In addition, each of us had areas of interest we wanted to explore further. The format for the spring semester allowed one day apiece for each of us to work with Flora and a regular weekly or bi-monthly meeting to present progress reports.

Initially, we learned organizational skills such as searching for and maintaining sources of financial and academic support--arranging for visas, transportation, and housing so that Flora would be comfortable during her stay and would return safely to Coban, and scheduling Flora's time so we could all work with her but not wear her out. Later, we tested various elicitation techniques and learned to evaluate Flora's reactions and responses to them. We discovered that our explanation of linguistic description helped Flora become more sensitive to her own intuitions about K'ekchi, thereby creating a closer partnership with us. Finally, we tried to pace our work, balancing elicitation and description; this became our most difficult task.

This paper reviews the working partnership between Flora and those of us who wanted to learn about K'ekchi. While there were some articles, a grammar and various K'ekchi texts available, as well as personal communication with long-standing investigators of K'ekchi, Flora was our primary source of data and intuitions. The other sources were only used as inspiration and supportive material. Thus, even though we did not experience many of the trials anthropologists and linguists in the field do, we feel confident that our field experience with Flora was a rich one. The present paper is divided into two parts. The first part is a description of Flora's linguistic background which will characterize her position in her linguistic community as a native, bilingual speaker of K'ekchi and Spanish. The second part is a set of individual reports by the five people who worked most consistently with Flora during the year. These reports relate individual field experiences with Flora, highlighting the problems encountered, the solutions attempted, and the relative success that was experienced.

INFORMANT BACKGROUND

Flora's grandparents were born around 1890 in Coban. All four of them spoke K'ekchi but only Flora's maternal grandfather spoke Spanish. Although both grandfathers served in the army away from Coban for about two years, where some reading and writing was taught, only Flora's maternal grandfather went to school and could read. The two grandmothers neither went to school nor did they ever leave Coban. None of the grandparents knew any other Mayan language.

Flora's parents were born around 1910 in Coban. Both of them spoke K'ekchi and Spanish and both went to school up to the third grade and learned to read and write. Flora's father served in the army for about two years and may have been away from Coban during this time. He knew no other Mayan languages. He died before the birth of his eighth child and had little or no direct influence on the four youngest children, one of whom was Flora. Flora's mother has traveled for days at a time to other places in Guatemala. She does not know any other Mayan languages although she has had some contact with Pocomchi speakers.

Flora's generation was born beginning around 1935 in Coban. There are eight siblings, the three eldest, men presently in their 30s, the remaining five, women presently in their 20s. Of the women, Flora is the third eldest. All of this generation speak K'ekchi and Spanish. Flora spoke only K'ekchi until moving into Coban from its periphery when she was four. She formally started learning Spanish in school when she was seven, but cannot remember whether she knew Spanish before going to school. She thinks she did not.

Except for the eldest sister, who did not finish elementary school, all of this generation have gone to high school. One of the men has finished high school and works as a bookkeeper. All of them read and write in Spanish, but Flora is the only one who is proficient at reading and writing K'ekchi. Flora says, however, that all of them read and write K'ekchi in some fashion.

Flora's eldest brother has lived in Guatemala City for some time and another brother lived in Chisec, Alta Verapaz, a remote K'ekchi community, for over a year. Other siblings have traveled throughout Guatemala but only for days at a time. Only Flora has ever been out of the country.

None of this generation knows any other Mayan language, although Flora has had contact with Quiche speakers, recognizes many cognates and would like to learn to speak Quiche. Because of Flora's contact with the Catholic nuns and priests and because of her secondary schooling as well as her recent trip to Austin, she has had contact with English but she cannot speak, read, or write it. One of Flora's brothers is married to a woman who is part Pocomchi, but his wife does not speak Pocomchi to her children nor around Flora's family.

Around 1969, Flora began to work with the Catholic priests and nuns who needed to learn to speak K'ekchi. Since working with them, she has also helped the nuns teach vocational skills and reading and writing in K'ekchi to Indian girls from outlying villages. During the summer of 1973, she was one of the linguistic informants at a field school under the supervision of Lyle Campbell in Coban. Now she has had an additional year of experience in the U.S. working with people describing her language. This experience has influenced her older sister and her two younger sisters to strengthen their K'ekchi reading and writing skills and use them for teaching.

Four of Flora's siblings are married: her three brothers and her eldest sister. The oldest brother married a K'ekchi woman. The other two brothers have married part Ladino wives, one of whom is the part Pocomchi woman mentioned above. Flora's eldest sister married an educated, well traveled K'ekchi who is a teacher. This brother-in-law is the only other person in Flora's family to have lived outside of Guatemala. He, too, was in the U.S. for a time. Flora's eldest sister lives with her husband and children in the home of his parents.

The generation of Flora's nieces and nephews was born beginning in 1960 in Coban. None of the children of Flora's brothers speak K'ekchi. They only speak Spanish. They may understand K'ekchi when Flora's mother speaks to them but they do not respond in K'ekchi and, for the most part, Spanish is spoken to them.

The children of Flora's sister do speak K'ekchi. They speak K'ekchi at home with the parents and paternal grandparents with whom they live. The children's father teaches in K'ekchi, so K'ekchi is important in the family's professional, social, and familial contacts.

It would seem that with each generation of Flora's family the amount of education and travel is increasing, and, inversely, the use of K'ekchi is decreasing. This tendency to lose K'ekchi in urban Coban seems to be supported by the community in general. For example: Flora had few Ladino friends and while her best friends are K'ekchis who speak K'ekchi, Flora and her friends usually speak Spanish, using their K'ekchi for joking and communicating secretly. However, Flora's constant contact with monolingual K'ekchis from outlying villages to whom she teaches vocational skills and reading and writing in K'ekchi and her consequent professional success and prestige which is due to her knowledge of K'ekchi is stressing the importance of her native Indian language for her siblings and the younger generation. Her work with K'ekchi and the example and influence of Flora's brother-in-law are factors which may determine the way in which the present adult generation of Flora's family passes on the use of K'ekchi to their children.

FIELD REPORTS

Sandra Pinkerton: I met Flora in 1973 while attending a linguistic field school under the supervision of Lyle Campbell. She was mature, in control of herself, and loyal to all of those characteristics which she valued as Mayan. For example, she would not consider wearing any other clothes than her K'ekchi "corte" even though two of her sisters do not wear it. One question she asked about coming to Austin was whether she would be allowed to wear her "corte". When the question was answered affirmatively, all other deliberations became formalities. I especially admired this loyalty and found that it extended to the linguistic information she gave me. One of our other Field School informants was very "adaptable". If pressed she would give us perfect paradigms for some verb which we thought should fit into a certain verb class. Later, we would find that the verb did not fit into that verb class, but that she had wanted to please us and she thought we wanted all of the requested verbs to go with a certain set of affixes. Flora, on the other hand, could not be bullied from the data she gave me. Fond as I might be of some hypothesis--*she* spoke K'ekchi and if her data did not fit my hypothesis that was *my* problem. It was her unyielding honesty which convinced me that she would not become disoriented by any pressures she might encounter if she came to Austin. I did not count on her patience but her loyalty and her patience changed our relationship from respectful acquaintance on her arrival to intimate friendship at her departure. After a while, *my* work became *our* work and the long hours, frustrations, and tedious labor were, if not enjoyed, at least accepted.

Flora's conservatism worked against me several times. She was very cautious about evaluating a sentence as grammatical if she was uncertain about the social or cultural correctness of its content. For example: I was checking the case marking of affixed pronouns and I found that she would not accept a sentence like--(1) The woman hit the man.--because she felt that women would not or should not hit men. Nor would she accept the sentence--(2) (a rodent says to another rodent) "You ate the cheese."--because rodents do not talk. After seeing some American movies in which women slapped men, she decided that sentence (1) could be said and translating Walt Disney cartoons into K'ekchi helped her accept sentence (2) although she still insisted that no real mouse could talk.

She did not like working with nonsense words either for eliciting possible sequences of segments nor for testing for final syllable lengthening. In the former case, she balked at adding affixes to nonsense words for conjugation or derivation. In the latter case, it was difficult for her to imitate the suprasegmental features, e.g. stress, intonation, of the real language cue word using the nonsense word. For example: tin-kwax ta:-ʔe *tiqok*. 'I want you (to) say *add*.' tin-kwax ta:-ʔe *sasas*. 'I want you (to) say *sasas*. *sasas* had to have the same suprasegmental features as *tiqok*. I dropped the conjugation of nonsense words and used other methods more acceptable to Flora for eliciting possible sequences of segments. For eliciting the final syllable lengthening data, I cut down the inventory of words so there was no nonsense word longer than four syllables and helped Flora practice imitating the suprasegmental features of real language cue words using nonsense words in both Spanish and K'ekchi until she was able to work with them.

As a result of my experience with Flora I have become rather cautious about interpreting data from linguistic games largely thrust upon the informant by the linguist. There are, of course, many linguistic games which speakers themselves build with their native language as a base. Sherzer (forthcoming) discusses a variety of them and says that linguistic games are "a valuable source of data crucial to the solution of such basic problems as the structure of syllables, the abstract representation of sounds, and the grouping of morphemes and words into classes." Campbell (1974), with some difficulty because there is no pig-latin-like linguistic game in K'ekchi, elicited a Spanish "speaking-in-p" game which one of the informants adapted to K'ekchi. He used it to investigate a restricted set of questions, where the interplay between the game and its language base...Spanish...did not seem to affect the output of the piglatinized K'ekchi. Because of his restricted set of questions his results are consistent with those found using other methods, but I think that in cases where informants are bilingual, the way in which the games are elicited and the language from which the games originate are important and may skew the results.

Working with one informant instead of several had its advantages. In 1973, using several informants, there was a tendency to simplify informant data on the basis that informants were inconsistent. For example, Campbell (1974) has the following glide strengthening rule $\begin{bmatrix} w \\ y \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} kw \\ ty \end{bmatrix} / \_\_ V$. He got his data from several of the informants and there were disagreements among them about many items. "Averaging" the data he wrote the rule, even though we were all uncomfortable with the reactions of the informants. After working with Flora this year, I find that lexicalization is what accounts for the informant variability which may have been a case of "you say tomeyto and I say tomato." Now that I am sure of the data for one informant, I can trace the pattern of lexicalization through the community and determine whether it is the result of diachronic, areal or sociolinguistic factors. (For further discussion of glide strengthening, see Pinkerton "Phonology" this volume.)

One advantage of having Flora here in Austin was the possibility of using the phonetics lab to record and check for certain durational effects in K'ekchi. Campbell (1974) noted that in the Coban dialect there were certain underlying long vowels whose diachronic source was /...Vh.../. Other K'ekchi dialects still maintained the h, e.g., Coban: /pa:ok/ 'to clear a trail'; other dialects: /pahok/. When these vowels appeared word finally (pa: 'clear it') they seemed to Campbell to be shortened. We were not all sure that they were shortened...sometimes they seemed to be; other times they did not seem shorter than the internal vowel nor did they seem as short as other vowels in final position. We knew that resonants and the implosive /b'/ underwent devoicing, and Campbell noted in his 1974 paper that vowels also had a slight voiceless release in final position. However, because English speakers are accustomed to a large amount of final syllable lengthening in English they might expect a long, word internal vowel to exhibit much more length in final position than it exhibited. This expectation may have caused Campbell to ignore the word final voiceless release on vowels in K'ekchi, thereby interpreting those underlying long vowels as much shorter in final position than they actually were. Where a rule noting the tendency of voiceless segmental release in K'ekchi would have been sufficient to describe the shortening effects of all vowels in final position, Campbell opted for two rules: (1) a final devoicing rule and (2) an underlying long vowel final shortening rule. Using objective instruments to measure internal vs. final vowels, this issue could, hopefully, be clarified.

The fact that Flora and I were in Austin allowed me to have access to a Mayan informant and to other linguists. I learned approaches and techniques from other students, and faculty members, that I might not have thought of on my own in the field. As a result, I consider this field experience a most productive one.

Pat Kennedy: It is rare that one has the opportunity to work with an informant like Flora in a university context...a classroom situation where individuals, all of whom are working on the same language, come together to discuss problems and compare findings, with the informant immediately at hand to provide on-the-spot data.

Clearly the group study situation provides the participants the opportunity to share data. In this particular case, people found that in working through their own data they came across data relevant to areas of interest of other members of the group. The first semester of work with Flora was not very productive; there were simply too many participants, thereby making class sessions disoriented and aimless. The second semester was such that each session, ideally, was to have provided an increasingly in-depth exploration of K'ekchi syntax. However, the lack of homgeneity in the group in terms of individual goals and expectations for the project and in terms of approaches to the project meant that the group discussions were always frustrating for at least some part of the class. For me as a linguistic anthropologist, the kinds of questions being asked were not those to which I would have addressed myself first. I too often felt myself at odds with the analytical tools being used, ill-equipped to handle them, and faced with a sterile exercise in language for the sake of language.

A major, and in my case insurmountable, problem was time. With only one informant and anywhere from six to twelve individuals working with her, the time each spent with Flora was indeed limited. This was a major factor in my failure to crack the cognitive code that I felt underlay the grammatical questions to which I addressed myself. For example, I elicited data on negation in K'ekchi, only to find that a statement about the distribution of negative forms rested upon a statement about equational (verbless) and existential (verbs) predicates in K'ekchi. This meant capturing a distinction similar to (but definitely not the same as) the ser/estar distinction in Spanish. Initially the pattern seemed clear, but the more data I collected the more confused the issue became. A similar situation resulted when working on the question of possessives in K'ekchi: what can be possessed, what cannot be, what must be--I felt that the cognitive questions had to be answered, and there was simply not enough time.

Another problem was the single-informant situation. With only one source of data, one simply could not cross-check findings. Indicative of the problem was the fact that on more than one occasion Flora contradicted herself from one week to the next. In this case, informant difficulties were aggravated by the fact that contact was so limited that it was difficult to ever resolve some of the problems.

While I have no great difficulty with Spanish, working on one language through another is for me methodologically suspect, although I realize quite unavoidable in most cases. Still, with only one informant in an out-of-context situation, the question nagged at me--how much of what I have is "puro" K'ekchi and how much is translation.

My statements thus far seem somewhat negative. I do not wish to imply that the experience was wasted, for that would certainly not be true. However, I feel that projects of this kind should be carefully evaluated in terms of time, number of participants, and the composition of the group before being undertaken.

Marlys Bacon: Having Flora here from Guatemala as a linguistic informant was a stroke of luck for me, as I had been particularly interested in the Mayan languages from a cultural and historic point of view. Undoubtedly many of the valuable lessons I learned in this early experience could have been learned using an informant of any other non-Western language, but the opportunity to work on K'ekchi here in Austin with a group of similarly interested students was a most enriching experience.

I suffered many early frustrations, of course, which are probably typical of those encountered by most field investigators--some inadequacy in the use of the contact language (Spanish); difficulty in distinguishing and producing unfamiliar phoneme contrasts (especially k/q); cumbersome methods of data organization; etc. Our initial arrangement in a classroom situation with Flora present as our informant often tended to degenerate into an "elicitation free-for-all" which I found extremely counter-productive. Therefore, the subsequent arrangement allowing each of us to work independently with her was immeasurably more satisfying.

Like some of the others who had entered the joint study project from anthropology, I felt very keenly at first the lack of a cultural context in which to study the language. Difficulty in framing culturally meaningful sentences or questions often slowed progress to a very ponderous pace indeed. We found, for example, that many topics familiar to us as well as to the educated Indian were customarily discussed in Spanish, even between Indians. Flora found it difficult to supply K'ekchi language for such topics. Cultural gaps interfered at other levels as well. Even such a seemingly innocuous task as giving verbal directions was loaded with cultural modes of perception which made this a brief exercise in frustration for both sides. *We* customarily visualize a "map" and describe its relevant features; this is quite foreign to Flora's perception of the spatial relationship of two places. In many ways, we found, we had to discover a great deal about Flora, where she came from and what life is like there, before we could study very much about her language.

Many quite subtle cultural differences continued to constrain our work. Flora was reluctant to provide linguistic information on roles which she herself had not played. An extreme realism customary to her made it difficult to urge an imaginary situation upon her; even what seemed to us to be very straightforward content was blocked with "you cannot say that"--for example, 'the man kicked the dog.' (no one would kick a dog); 'the mother swept the floor with a broom.' ("mother" is an abstraction in K'ekchi--one must designate *whose* mother when identifying a person with such a label.).

What seemed to be a cultural norm of polite generality and non-committalness made the elicitation of judgmental statements or impressions concerning people unproductive. It became a temptingly easy, but shallow, solution to ask general non-committal questions for elicitation, avoiding difficult topics rather than probing for means of expressing them. Without the cultural context, I think it would be difficult to discover much of the K'ekchi range of linguistic expression, perception, social appropriateness of style and usage, and categories of classification.

If I seem to imply that in addition to Flora I needed all of Coban as well I do not mean to diminish the immense value of her presence here. Having a real and immediate contact with the distant substance of our university work has been tremendously motivating. Actual field work in addition to the study of textbooks and descriptions has been a learning experience of the most classic kind. The community of interest generated among the students in our small group, and the continuing interest and support lent us by the faculty members who worked with us have made this experience one of the most rewarding classroom experiences.

To gentle, ever-patient Flora, whom I affectionately called "Profi-", our *profesora*, I offer my great thanks and appreciation. Her presence here was so constructive, that I hope it will be a precedent for providing similar opportunities to other students of linguistics and anthropology at the University.

Bob Freund: My particular approach toward the field work in this project was based on two considerations: (1) an initial lack of a contact language for direct communication with the informant (I do not speak Spanish, though I can understand it imperfectly when I hear it; Flora spoke no English), and (2) my belief that the only reliable way to gain any insight into how a language works is to learn to speak it to whatever degree possible in the time available. The natural course open to me in view of this was to get Flora to teach me how to talk in K'ekchi and to proceed with my field work in the course of the process, thus approaching the language from the inside. I hoped this would enable me to formulate problems for analysis in terms of the language itself without having to depend too heavily on translation from another language as a heuristic device.

The ideal situation would have been for me to have gained sufficient fluency in K'ekchi to converse with relative ease and conduct the elicitation sessions almost exclusively in that language. In practice, I was never able to get this far because of the sporadic nature of my contact with Flora, amounting to no more than 10 hours per week. Thus, I was still often in need of an interpreter, especially when dealing with less concrete matters of meaning and usage, which Flora would only discuss in Spanish anyway. In spite of this, I accomplished quite a lot.

The main difficulties, therefore, apart from purely organizational ones like lack of opportunity to consult the informant at certain times, lay in the language barrier. This precluded a lot of discussion which might have been helpful to clarify some part of the data more easily and placed limitations on the kinds of approaches that I was able to use in elicitation. For example, I required heavier reliance on translation from Spanish than I would have liked. The main loss I believe was one of time. Had I been more fluent in Spanish or K'ekchi, I could have accomplished the work I did sooner. I do not believe, however, that this prevented me from getting any information I could not otherwise have gotten--it just took longer and was more cumbersome. I believe that the advantages I gained from having some command of K'ekchi adequately compensated for the disadvantages stemming from my lack of ability to use Spanish. If I were to continue to work on K'ekchi, I am sure that acquiring fluency in that language would be more helpful in doing linguistic analysis than getting a better control of Spanish.

Robert Stone: I had two communication problems. First, Flora did not speak English and I could not speak K'ekchi nor Spanish. As a result, I chose to conduct the interviews in Spanish. The elicitation sessions were usually conducted as follows: I would arrive with questions I had prepared in advance using Spanish dictionaries and translations from friends. These were answered by Flora. Then, on the basis of her responses more sentences in both K'ekchi and Spanish would be prepared on the spot and tested for their acceptability. The most successful method was presenting her an array of simple sentences to which she could respond. She was aware of the problem and seldom attempted explaining points of grammar to me. The sentence questionnaire with its grammatical and ungrammatical sentences was my explicator.

Second, there were communication problems that went beyond the conversion from English to Spanish to K'ekchi and back. Often a perfectly grammatical sentence in Spanish would not convert to K'ekchi and showed, in part, how Flora conceptualized. One particular discovery in this regard was what I came to call Concreteness in that it was necessary to specify the relationship between things and actions very carefully. I could not speak of cutting a book with scissors, only its paper; nor could I speak about cutting a table with an ax; only its wood. The result of this Concreteness was that I had a very difficult time determining the grammaticality of sentences.

I also had difficulties due to my lack of knowledge of linguistics. I was not familiar with linguistic theory and current issues so I was not sure of what processes in K'ekchi would be relevant. Additionally, I did not have much experience with the diversity of processes in language, so it was difficult to identify patterns I might see as generalizations which were natural to language. The only solution was continued reading and persistent discussion with other more knowledgeable people in the group working with Flora. I did receive a great deal of help from both the student and the faculty members with whom I worked.

PRELIMINARY STUDY OF K'EKCHI PHONOLOGY

Sandra Pinkerton

Introduction

Very little information about K'ekchi phonology is to be found in the literature. Some investigators merely list the phonemes without describing them in any detail. Others give a minimal phonetic description of each phoneme with some examples. At present, there is only one paper that I know of which is about some K'ekchi rules of phonology.[1]

The present paper attempts to expand what little information there is about K'ekchi phonology by describing in some detail the articulatory characteristics of the phonemes of Coban K'ekchi as spoken by Flora Ac. The paper describes certain phonetic processes which various classes of these phonemes undergo and presents a description of several phonetic experiments for which there are, as yet, no definitive results.

1.0 The Contrastive Sounds in K'ekchi

The contrastive sounds in K'ekchi are shown in the chart below and are followed by examples which are minimal pairs or, in certain cases, near minimal pairs. In some cases, two sets of examples will be given, the phoneme in question, in initial position as well as in either medial or final position. The sounds being contrasted are underlined in the examples, and each example is given in phonemic transcription.

Contrastive Sounds in K'ekchi

A. Consonants		bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
STOPS	unaspirated	p	t[2]			k	q	
	glottalized	b'		t'		k'	q'	ʔ
AFFRICATES	aspirated			c	č			
	glottalized			c'	č'			
FRICATIVES				s	š	x		h
NASALS		m		n				
LIQUIDS				l r				
GLIDES	simple			w	y			
	obstruentized[3]			ẘ	ẙ			

B. Vowels	front short	front long	central short	central long	back short	back long
high	i	i:			u	u:
mid	e	e:			o	o:
low			a	a:		

Examples:

piš	'tie'	toq	'break'	kut	'throw'	qač	'take a bite of'
b'is	'measure'	t'oq	'throw'	k'ut	'teach'	q'et	'break'
						xiq	'get near'
						xiq'	'break'

col	'learn'	čup	'turn off'						
c'ap	'cover'	č'up	'cut'	seb'	'clay'	šep	'tamale'	xeb'	'make smaller'

ʔoc	'share'
ʔoc'	'break'

maq'	'remove'	naq'	'seed'	lap	'bury'	rap	'hit'

mayi:nk	'smoke'	kawil hab'	'downpour'
kaʔi:nk	'sell'	kaʔil	'hardness'

tiš	'a certain plant'	kut	'throw'	lek	'spoon'
ti:š	'old person'	ku:t	'bunch'	le:k	'by the bunch'

kaq	'red'	č'ol	'cut a path'
ka:q	'ray'	č'o:l	'heart'

2.0 K'ekchi obstruents

In K'ekchi, obstruents (stops, affricates and fricatives) are typically voiceless; only /b'/ is voiced. There are glottalized (b', t', k', q', c', č' and ʔ) and non-glottalized (p, t, k, q, c, č, s, š, x and h) obstruents. The non-glottalized obstruents consist of four voiceless, unaspirated stops produced in bilabial /p/, dento-alveolar /t/, velar /k/ and uvular /q/ positions; two affricates produced in alveolar /c/ and palatal /č/ positions; and four fricatives produced in alveolar /s/, palatal /š/, velar /x/ and glottal /h/ positions. The glottalized obstruents are of three types: a glottal stop /ʔ/, a bilabial implosive /b'/ and five ejectives - an alveolar stop /t'/, an alveolar affricate /c'/, a palatal affricate /č/, a velar stop /k'/ and a uvular stop /q'/.

2.1 Glottalized Obstruents

Typically, an ejective is produced by an upward movement of the closed larynx made during the articulation of the consonant, creating air pressure in the oral/pharyngeal cavity. When the consonant articulation is released, the resultant burst of pharyngeal air is egressive. The glottis remains closed for a short interval and is then set in motion producing the next sound. An ejective is thought to be most efficiently produced in palatal, velar, and uvular articulations because (1) the upward tongue root movement of the back consonant articulations is consistent with the upward movement of the larynx and (2) these back articulations allow the greatest build-up of pressure in the pharyngeal cavity when the closed larynx moves upward.

Typically, an implosive is produced by a downward movement of the larynx made during the articulation of the consonant with the vocal cords semi-closed creating a partial vacuum in the pharyngeal and oral cavities. Pulmonic egressive air is allowed to leak through the semi-closed vocal cords during the downward laryngeal movement. The pulmonic egressive air leaking through the semi-closed vocal cords is thought to be the probable cause of the voicing in implosives. When the consonant articulation is released, outside air rushes into the oral/pharyngeal cavity. The partial vacuum in the oral/pharygeal cavity caused by the downward movement is, thus, filled by ingressive air and leaking egressive air. An implosive is thought to be most efficiently produced in bilabial articulations because (1) the tongue root is not in motion, permitting the larynx a full range of downward movement and (2) the oral/pharyngeal cavity is larger during a bilabial articulation accomodating the rush of leaking egressive air during the downward laryngeal movement and the ingressive air upon the release of the consonant articulation.

Recall that an ejective, in an ejective-vowel sequence, has a short silent interval from the release of the consonant articulation and the resultant egressive pharyngeal air burst to the onset of the voicing of the following sound. This interval is called the Voicing Onset Time (VOT) and has been found to be a significant perceptual cue in distinguishing aspirated stops from unaspirated ones; unaspirated stops from voiced ones, etc. In the production of ejectives, aspirated stops and unaspirated stops, the VOT occurs simultaneously or after the release of the consonant articulation and is a lag time. In the production of implosives (because of the leaking egressive air) and voiced stops, the VOT occurs before the release of the consonant articulation and is a lead time.

2.2 K'ekchi Glottalized Obstruents

In K'ekchi, the production of the ejectives and the implosive depends on position-in-utterance. The ejectives and the implosive are produced as described above only when in initial position.

Examples:				
	'fold'	/b'as/ → [b'as][4]	'throw'	/t'oq/ → [t'oq]
	'teach'	/k'ut/ → [k'ut]	'break'	/q'et/ → [q'et]
	'cover'	/c'ap/ → [c'ap]	'cut'	/č'up/ → [č'up]

In medial position, the ejectives are preglottalized (the affricates having a sharper and shorter release). The implosive may be preglottalized or laryngealized, in free variation, in this position. Preglottalization consists of total closure followed by the production of what seems to be a non-glottalized stop or affricate, e.g., /Vb'V/ = [VˀbV]; /Vk'V/ = [VˀkV]. The airstream seems to be pulmonic egressive (never ingressive even for the implosive) and vertical laryngeal movement does not seem to be significant. The laryngealization of the implosive consists of maintaining a creaky-voice glottalic constriction throughout the production of a /b'/ e.g., /Vb'V/ = [Vb̰V]. Again, the airstream seems to be pulmonic egressive and vertical movement of the larynx does not seem significant.

Examples:	Underlying Form	Preglottalization	Laryngealization
'to diminish'	/xeb'+ ok/	[xeˀbok]	[xeb̰ok]
'to scrap'	/xot'+ ok/	[xoˀbok]	
'to hit'	/sak'+ ok/	[saˀkok]	
'to breathe'	/xiq'+ ok/	[xiˀqok]	
'to ask'	/pac'+ ok/	[paˀcok]	
'to crush'	/poč'+ ok/	[poˀčok]	
'to loosen'	/tob'+ ok/	[toˀbok]	[tob̰ok]
'to mistreat'	/hob'+ ok/	[hoˀbok]	[hob̰ok]

In final position, the glottalization of both the ejectives and the implosive depend on the final release given the obstruent. In some repetitions of an item, there is no release of the glottalized obstruent, in which case, there is extensive glottalic constriction on the preceding vowel, e.g. /VC'/ = [V̰C˺]. In other repetitions of the item, there will be a release of the glottalized obstruent, in which case, there will be very little glottalic constriction on the preceding vowel, e.g., /VC'/ = [VÇʰ]. Typically, the utterance-final implosive, in K'ekchi, is not released and the creaky-voice glottalic constriction becomes glottalic closure in conjunction with the bilabial closure.[5]

The air stream seems to be pulmonic egressive in both the case of the ejectives and the implosive. Additionally, the implosive is devoiced in final position. This final devoicing seems to be consistent with a general segment devoicing in final position.

Examples:	Underlying Form	Final Obstruent - released	unreleased
'diminish (it).'	/xeb'/	[xep̬ʰ]	[xḛp̚]
'loosen (it).'	/tob'/	[top̬ʰ]	[to̰p̚]
'mistreat (it).'	/hob'/	[hop̬ʰ]	[ho̰p̚]
'scrape (it).'	/xot'/	[xot̬ʰ]	[xo̰t̚]
'hit (it).'	/sak'/	[sak̬ʰ]	[sa̰k̚]
'breathe (it.)'	/xiq'/	[xiq̬ʰ]	[xḭ̃q̚]
'ask (it).'	/pac'/	[pac̬ʰ]	[pa̰c̚]
'crush (it).'	/poč'/	[poč̬ʰ]	[po̰c̚]

Greenberg (1971) in reviewing the patterning of glottalized consonants in many languages notes the conditional variation of glottalized consonants in Mayan languages as well as the non-distinctiveness of the voicing for the implosive in most of them. As shown above, K'ekchi is a typical Mayan language in these respects.

I am presently measuring the duration of obstruents, and the duration and fundamental frequency of vowels which are on a tape that has an inventory of CVC, CVCVC and CVCVCVC minimal pairs. Only glottalized and non-glottalized stops and affricates were used. My intent is to establish the VOT for the stops and determine the effect of glottalized consonants on the surrounding vowels. The parameters of stress and the effect of the position-in-utterance of syllables are also being investigated.

2.3 Glottalized Obstruents in CVC roots

In many languages having glottalized consonants, e.g., Quechua, a Bolivian Indian language, there seems to be an apparent universal constraint against having two glottalized consonants appearing in a CVC root. This constraint does not seem to apply to the Mayan languages. In K'ekchi, a CVC root may sometimes have more than one glottalized consonant in it.

Examples:						
'metal'	/č'ič'/	'hurt'	/t'ob'/	'monkey'	/b'ac'/
'earth'	/č'oč'/	'sip'	/c'ub'/	'wasp'	/č'ub'/
'black'	/q'eq'/	'fill'	/b'ut'/	'fix'	/k'ub'/
'squash'	/q'oq'/	'tie'	/b'ak'/	'write'	/c'i:b'/
'quetzal'	/q'uq'/	'scrape'	/b'uq'/	'twist'	/b'ač'/
		'loosen'	/b'oq'/	'take out'	/b'oc'/
		'gather firewood'	/c'ab'/		

Notice that when one of the two glottalized consonants is the implosive /b'/, there do not seem to be any constraints on the place or manner of articulation of the accompanying ejective in the root. On the other hand, when both of the glottalized consonants are ejectives, the place and manner of articulation must be identical. I was unable to elicit from Flora or find in the literature any examples of CVC roots in which both glottalized consonants were implosives /b'Vb'/ or in which the two ejectives were alveolar /t'Vt'/, /c'Vc'/ or velar /k'Vk'/.

One reason that the restrictions on the number of glottalized consonants in a CVC root are somewhat more liberal in K'ekchi than in languages like Quechua may be due to the different phonetic realizations of K'ekchi glottalized consonants in initial, medial and final positions. The result of the differing pronunciations is that, phonetically, there is only one 'true' glottalized consonant in a CVC root in K'ekchi. That consonant is the one in initial position with either upward laryngeal movement and a glottalic egressive air stream (an ejective) or downward laryngeal movement and an ingressive air stream (an implosive). In medial or final position, glottalized consonants in K'ekchi do not have significant vertical laryngeal movement. They use a pulmonic egressive air stream and glottalic constriction in their production. This variability of phonetic production may not be available to a language like Quechua which has three sets of stops: a voiceless, aspirated set, a voiceless, unaspirated set, and an ejective set. Helen Ryan has told me that she has found the VOT for the aspirated and the ejective sets of stops in Quechua to be the same. That would mean that glottalization in Quechua is a very significant cue for distinguishing the aspirated and glottalized sets of stops. I suspect that I shall find that the VOT for the voiceless, unaspirated stops and the ejectives in K'ekchi will be quite different and, if so, the glottalization in K'ekchi may be a secondary articulation rather than a major class identifier as it seems to be in Quechua. Perhaps the universal constraint has application to the number of glottalized consonants in a CVC root in languages for which the glottalization is a major class feature.

2.4 Glottalized Obstruents in Consonant Clusters

I have very little information about glottalized consonants in consonant clusters. Most of the data collected is inconclusive or in preliminary stages of investigation. The implosive /b'/ seems to assimilate in voicing to following consonants when it is found in consonant clusters. As discussed in the ergativity paper in this volume, the implosive /b'/ found in the 3rd person plural morpheme {eb'} is voiced before sonorants [eb̮ ax peč'] 'the carpenters', [eˀb li išq] 'the women'; and voiceless when found before voiceless obstruents or in utterance final position [išep̮ čik] 'They are women now.', [šlemep̮] 'their glass'. Additionally, as the following examples illustrate, an intervocalic /pb'/ cluster will fall together as a voiceless preglottalized [ˀp]. Similarly, an internal /b'b'/ cluster will be realized as [ˀb] or [b̮].

Examples:	'mistreated'	/hob'+ b'il/	[hoˀbil]	[hob̮il]
	'punched (holes made by man)	/k'ob'+ b'il/	[k'oˀbil]	[k'ob̮il]
	'diminished'	/xeb'+ b'il/	[xeˀbil]	[xeb̮il]
	'make a hole'	/hop + b'il/	[hoˀpil]	
	'punched (holes made by birds)	/k'op + b'il/	[k'oˀpil]	
	'grabbed'	/čap + b'il/	[čaˀpil]	
	'dehusked (corn)'	/čep + b'il/	[čeˀpil]	
	'buried'	/lap + b'il/	[laˀpil]	
	'closed'	/c'ap + b'il/	[c'aˀpil]	

Neither preglottalization nor devoicing of the implosive seem to be found in consonant clusters where the first consonant has either a different manner or place of articulation than the following implosive /b'/. Instead, the implosive /b'/ is realized as a "true" implosive, i.e., one with downward laryngeal movement and with an ingressive air stream upon release of the consonant articulation.

Examples:	'ground (corn)'	/hes + b'il/	[hesb'il]
	'loosened'	/hit + b'il/	[hit^{h}b'il]
	'cooked'	/čiq + b'il/	[čiq^{h}b'il]

A tape has been recorded of Flora's K'ekchi using consonant clusters consisting of (1) a non-glottalized stop followed by a glottalized stop [šatk'ut] 'You taught (it).', (2) a continuant followed by a glottalized stop [šešk'ut] 'You plural taught (it).', and (3) a nasal followed by a glottalized stop [šink'ut] 'I taught (it).'. These are compared with similar clusters where the 2nd consonant in the cluster is non-glottalized [šatkut] 'you threw (it).', [šeškut] 'You plural threw (it).', and [šinkut] 'I threw (it).'. The tape should yield information about the phonetic effects of glottalized consonants on preceding consonants. It should also yeild information about [tt] and [tt'] clusters, in particular, showing whether these clusters parallel the [b'b'] and [pb'] clusters described above.

3.0 K'ekchi Sonorants

In K'ekchi, all sonorants tend to devoice word finally, i.e., both consonants and vowels have a breathy release. /r/ devoices completely. Recall that the imploded obstruent /b'/ also devoices word finally. In the examples below I have included some cases of the devoicing implosive /b'/ in addition to the cases of devoicing resonants.

Examples:

	gloss	intervocalic position	gloss	word final position
/m/	'to roast'	/pom+Vk/ → [pomok]	'roast it'	/pom/ → [pomM]
	'to weave'	/kem+Vk/ → [kemok]	'weave it'	/kem/ → [kemM]
/n/	'to beat'	/ten+Vk/ → [tenok]	'beat it'	/ten/ → [tenN]
	'to pull'	/rin+Vk/ → [š̥inok]	'pull it'	/rin/ → [š̥inN]
/l/	'to defend'	/kol+Vk/ → [kolok]	'defend it'	/kol/ → [kolL]
	'to raise'	/sol+Vk/ → [solok]	'raise it'	/sol/ → [solL]
/r/	'We hit'	/š+o:+rap+Vk/ → [šo:ž̥apok]		
	'to cut'	/kur+Vk/ → [kuž̥š̥ok]	'cut it'	/kur/ → [kuš̥]
	'to break'	/xor+Vk/ [xož̥̊š̥̊ok]	'break it'	/xor/ → [xoš̥]
/y/	'to smoke'	/may+Vn+k/ → [mayi:nk]	'tobacco'	/may/ → [mayY]
	'to pile'	/b'uy+Vb'+Vn+k/ → [b'uyuˀba:nk]		
			'pile'	/b'uy/ → [b'uyY]
/ẏ/	'to sell'	/k'ay+Vn+k/ → [k'aẏi:nk]	'market'	/k'ay/ → [k'ayY]
/w/	'his key'	/š+law+il/ → [šlawil] [šlaẘil]	'key'	/law/ → [lawW]
	'put achiote in something cooking'	/k'e šaẏaw+il/ → [k'e šaẏawil]		
			'achiote'	/šaẏaw/ → [šaẏawW]
/ẇ/	'to disdain'	/maxeẘ+Vn+k/ → [maxiẘa:nk]	'disdain'	/maxeẇ/ → [maxewW]
	'hardness'	/kaẘ+il/ → [kaẘil]	'hard'	/kaẘ/ → [kawW]
/b'/	'to loosen'	/tob'+Vk/ [toˀbok]	'loosen it'	/tob'/ [tọp⁻]
	'to drink'	/ẏob'+Vk/ [ẏoˀbok]	'drink it'	/ẏob'/ [ẏọp⁻]

		word final position	
/a/	'saint'	/qaẇa/	[qaẘaA]
	'early'	/eqla/	[eqlaA]
/e/	'path'	/xalb'e/	[xalb'eE]
	'cold'	/ke/	[keE]

/i/	'live oak'	/xi/	[xiI]
	'her daughter-in-law'	/r+ali/	[š̥aliI]
/u/	'late'	/eẘu/	[eẘuU]
	'paper'	/hu/	[huU]
/o/	'rat'	/č'o/	[č'oO]

3.1 /r/

In K'ekchi, the liquid /r/ is a voiceless retroflex alveopalatal fricative, which tends to become voiced word internally when surrounded by unstressed voiced segments.[6] Campbell (1974) says that "the voiced variant (which rarely occurs) is stigmatized as a sign of ladinoized speech." Flora's reaction to her own recorded voiced and voiceless variants of the retroflex alveopalatal fricative was one of mild interest at the fact that the segment varied at all. However, she produced some repetitions of the voiced variant (usually in stressed environments) as alveolar trills and could scarcely bring herself to admit that she had committed so drastic a crime when she heard these items played back to her. A more cautious statement about "stigmatized" speech in K'ekchi might be that the alveolar trill is stigmatized as ladinoized speech. /r/ is more strident in word initial position and in stressed or glottalized environments than in word final position, and it is least strident in intervocalic position where it is voiced. /r/ is classed as a liquid instead of a fricative because it forms a class with the resonants, not the fricatives, e.g., in a vowel lengthening rule which will be discussed below. What follows are examples of /r/ in word initial position, intervocalic stressed and unstressed position and word final position.

Examples:

gloss	word initial position		gloss	word final position	
'hit it'	/rap/	[š̥áp]	'scratch it'	/par/	[páš̥]
'sprinkle it'	/rač/	[š̥áč]	'make them (tortillas)'	/šor/	[šóš̥]
'finish it'	/raq/	[š̥áq]	'break it'	/xor/	[xóš̥]

intervocalic stressed position			intervocalic unstressed position		
'to scratch'	/par+Vk/	[paž̥š̥ók]	'we hit'	/š+o:+rap+Vk/	[šo:ž̥apók]
'to make tortillas'	/šor+ok/	[šožšók]	'we sprinkled'	/š+o:+rač+Vk/	[šo:ž̥ačók]
'to break'	/xor+ok/	[xož̥š̥ók]	'we finished'	/š+o:+raq+Vk/	[so:ž̥aqók]

3.2 K'ekchi Glides

Campbell (1974) has proposed two underlying glides in Coban K'ekchi (/y/ and /w/) and has claimed that these glides undergo "glide strengthening"[7] when they are found before a vowel. Campbell's proposed underlying glides and his glide strengthening rule do not accurately describe the way in which glides are handled in Flora's speech although Flora was one of Campbell's informants. Although Campbell and Terry Kaufman (personal communication) have seconded the observation that informants do disagree about the pronunciation of words having glides in them, Campbell's rule does not account for any informant disagreement.

I. In Flora's speech, obstruentized glides (ẙ and ẘ) are consistently found (1) word initially and (2) in word internal consonant clusters where the glide is syllable or morpheme initial.

	gloss	(1) word initial position
/ẙ/	'negotiate it'	[ẙak]
	'wrap it'	[ẙut]
	'prove it'	[ẙal]
	'serve it'	[ẙam]
	'crush it'	[ẙac']
	'kick it'	[ẙeq']
	'maka dough'	[ẙoq']

Additionally, I refer you to Freund's word list in this volume for more examples of word initial /ẙ/.

	gloss	(2) consonant cluster
(a)	'limp'	[k'onẙa:nk]
	'stare'	[kaʔẙa:nk]
(b)	'a certain tree'	[saqẙol]
	'fly'	[šašẙat]
	'yellow fever'	[q'anẙax]
(c)	'slippery'	[ẙolẙol]
	'hard'	[ẙotẙot]
	'high'	[ẙuk'ẙu]
	'size'	[ẙunẙu]
	'long'	[ẙak'ẙo]

	gloss	(1) word initial position
/ẘ/	'share it'	[ẘoc]
	'break it'	[ẘoc']
	'cool'	[ẘos]
	'remove it'	[ẘec]
	'argue (about) it'	[ẘec']
	'eat it'	[ẘaʔak]
	'to blow'	[ẘalu:nk]
	'to sleep'	[ẘa:rk]

Additionally, I refer you to Freund's word list in this volume for more examples of word initial /ẘ/.

	gloss	(2) consonant cluster
(a)	'body'	[sc'exẘal]
	'heat'	[tiqẘasi:nk]
	'to become pus infected'	[poxẘe:nk]

Notice that the examples labeled (a) have morpheme internal consonant clusters, these being examples where [ẙ] or [ẘ] are syllable initial; the examples labeled (b) have the following morpheme structure - $C_1V(C_2)+C_1V(C_2)$ derived by a process of reduplication; and the examples labeled (c) are compound nouns. Both (b) and (c) examples are cases where [ẙ] or [ẘ] are morpheme initial.

II. There are also many words in which intervocalic obstruentized glides may be found.

	gloss	
[ẙ]	'to plant'	[še:ẙa:nk]
	'to offer'	[maẙexa:nk]
	'to rub'	[maẙu:nk]
	'seed'	[iẙax]
	'to seed'	[iẙaxi:nk]
	'achiote'	[šaẙaw]
	'comb'	[šiẙub']
	'small banana'	[saẙiʔ]
	'zinzontle bird'	[cenceẙul]
	'certain brush'	[saẙub']
	'grass'	[p'ac'aẙaʔ]
	'something heard'	[xoʔnaẙeʔ]
	'avocado'	[koẙow]

	gloss	
[ŵ]	'very far'	[maŵaye]
	'disdain'	[maxeŵa:nk]
	'get well'	[kaŵu:k]
	'certain bird'	[č'iŵan]
	'greeting for a man	[č'oŵaʔ]

III. Simple glides ([y] and [w]), in Flora's speech, are consistently found (1) word finally and (2) in word internal consonant clusters where the glide is syllable or morpheme final.

	gloss	(1) word final	gloss	(2) consonant cluster
[y]	'brush'	[sub'ay]	'wait'	[uyb'e:nk]
	'rib'	[sukuy]	'accustom oneself'	[k'a:yk]
	'cucaya'	[kuka:y]	'accustom'	[k'aytesi:nk]
	'make'	[k'amb'olay]	'be proud'	[hob'a:nk]
	'pigpen'	[mucuy]	'scream'	[sayla:nk]
	'acquaintance'	[lo:y]	'do with difficulty'	[reyla:nk]
	'cricket'	[c'iray]	'opaque'	[moymoy]
	'lungs'	[pospoy]	'certain bird'	[k'oymut]
	'pujuyero bird'	[puxpuy]	'certain tree'	[mayteʔ]
	'class'	[pa:y]	'excrement'	[maytaʔ]
	'ant'	[kaqtuʔuy]	'ox'	[b'o:yš]
	'type of greens'	[mak'uy]	'sticky'	[t'ayt'ay]
	'snake'	[otoʔoy]	'suffering'	[reylal]
			'treatment for cramps'	[mayšul]

	gloss	word final
[w]	'lake'	[palaw]
	'pitorreal bird'	[šalaw]
	'avocado'	[koŷow]
	'pig-like animal' (tepesquintle)	[halaw]
	'Maurice'	[maw]
	'wish'	[ataw]
	'achiote'	[šaŷaw]

IV. There are a number of alternations in which a word internal obstruentized glide is found as a simple glide in word final position or in a consonant cluster where the glide is syllable or morpheme final.

		gloss			gloss	
[ŷ]/[y]	(1)	'to darken'	[moŷak]	(2)	'to sell'	[k'aŷi:nk]
		'it got dark'	[šmoŷa]		'salesman'	[ax k'aŷinel]
		'to become dark'	[mo:yk]		'vendor'	[ax k'ay]

		gloss	
[ẘ]/[w]	(3)	'to fear'	[šuẘak]
		'fear him'	[šiw]
	(4)	'to vomit'	[šaʔẘa:nk]
		'vomit it'	[šaʔaw]

	gloss	
(5)	'to get ready'	[kaẘu:nk]
	'to prepare'	[kaẘunkil]
	'to make preparations'	[kawresi:nk]
(6)	'to force'	[mec'eẘa:nk]
	'force'	[mec'ew]

The data (except for the word [maẘaye] 'very far') are accounted for by Campbell's (1974) proposal that there are two underlying glides (/y/ and /w/) in K'ekchi and a phonological rule which "strengthens" glides when they appear before a vowel.

V. However, there are data which are not accounted for by Campbell's analysis. In IV above, there were examples of alternations in which a word internal obstruentized-glide was found as a simple-glide in word final position or in a consonant cluster where the glide was syllable or morpheme final. Below are examples which would be predicted to exhibit such alternations, but which do not.

		gloss	
[y]	(7)	'to smoke'	[mayi:nk]
		'tobacco'	[may]
	(8)	'to pile'	[b'uyub'a:nk]
		'pile'	[b'uy]
	(9)	'to be late'	[b'ayk]
		'he was late'	[šb'ayeʔ]

	gloss	
(10)	'petate'	[sayil pop]
	'plant used in making petate'	[say]
(11)	'to order'	[payok]
	'to order repeatedly'	[špayinkil]
	'order it'	[pay]
(12)	'to mix'	[xuyuk]
	'to mix repeatedly'	[šxuyinkil]
	'mix it'	[xuy]
(13)	'to chew (gum)'	[k'oyok]
	'to chew repeatedly	[šk'oyinkil]
	'chew it'	[k'oy]
(14)	'to spill'	[hoyok]
	'to spill repeatedly'	[šhoyinkil]
	'spill it'	[hoy]

[w]	(15)	'put achiote into something cooking'	[k'e šaẙawil]
		'achiote'	[šaẙaw]

Words like [q'uy] 'uproot it', [č'uy] 'pinch it', [č'oy] 'heat it', [čoy] 'finish it', and [kuy] 'pardon him' also exhibit the lack of alternation found in examples (11) - (14). The word [maẘaye] 'very far' for which Campbell's analysis would predict two obstruentized glides has only one. There is no phonetic or morphophonemic reason for all of the examples in V to be treated differently from the examples in II or IV.

VI. Equally interesting are the sets of examples below in which one word is treated differently from the rest.

(16)	'planting'	[aŵi:mk]	(17)	'to harden'	[kaŵok]
	to plant' (T.A.)	[aŵok]		'its hardness'	[škaŵil]
	'to plant' (T.)	[a:wk]		'his strength'	[škaŵilal]
	'planting stick'	[awlepče]		'to become strong'	[kaŵuk]
	'planter'	[awonel]		'downpour'	[kawil hab']
	'plant it'	[aw]		'hard/strong'	[kaw]

Campbell's analysis would predict that [awonel] 'planter' would be *[aŵonel] and [kawil hab'] 'downpour' would be *[kaŵil hab']. Again, there is no phonetic or morphophonemic reason for these words to be treated differently from the examples in II or IV.

VII. One last interesting bit of information can be found in the following three sets of words:

(18)	'key'	[law]	(20)	'frost'	[suxew]
	'his key'	[šlawil]/[šlaŵil]		'damage from frost'	[suxewok']/ [suxeŵok']
(19)	'mare'	[ŷew]			
	'his mare'	[šŷewil]/[šŷeŵil]			

(18) and (19) are Spanish loans - llave 'key'; llegua 'mare'. Flora has heard both pronunciations of the possessive forms - the obstruentized glide variant and the simple glide variant. However, she is uncertain about her own usage. She does not know whether she prefers the obstruentized glide variant over the simple glide variant or whether her use of any particular variant is dependent on a certain grammatical or sociolinguistic context.

Flora and I found the word for 'frost' (example 20) in Sedat's K'ekchi Dictionary. Flora knew the word for 'frost' and the morphological device for getting the meaning 'damage from frost' - but she had never heard or used the word /suxewtok'/ so she was stunned when she tried to pronounce it and found she did not have the faintest idea how she should pronounce it. The dictionary had it written in Spanish orthography as sujecuok', but this did not decide the issue for her. She remained remarkably uncertain.

Campbell posited two underlying simple glides (/y/ and /w/) and a phonological rule obstruentizing these glides before a vowel. His analysis does not accurately describe Flora's treatment of K'ekchi glides. His rule may, however, reflect an earlier stage in the development of Coban K'ekchi.

There is no historical evidence in K'ekchi or in its sister Quichean languages or in the other Mayan language families that obstruentized glides predate simple glides in the Mayan languages. I suggest that diachronically, in fairly recent times, there must have been a stage (1) where there were only simple glides in Coban K'ekchi. There are still some K'ekchi dialects which are said to have only simple glides at the present time. At a second stage (2) in the development of Coban K'ekchi glides, there may have been an innovation: the obstruentizing of /y/ and /w/ in morpheme initial position. This obstruentizing may have been motivated, at first, by contact with Spanish speakers who obstruentize glides in word initial position, e.g., 'handsome' [gwapo], [wapo]. This obstruentizing may also have been an attempt to parallel the rhythmic or percussive consequences of other phonological processes in Coban K'ekchi" (a) the de-glottalization of glottalized consonants in word final position, (b) the devoicing of resonants in word final position and

(c) the loss of the stridency of /r/ in word final position. The output of these phonological processes are utterances having sequences of morphemes with a "hard" morpheme initial production and a "soft" morpheme final production yielding a rhythm peculiar to that dialect of K'ekchi. The result of the obstruentizing of glides in morpheme initial position, bringing about the "hard" production of morpheme initial glides and the "soft" production of morpheme final glides, parallels the similar percussive consequences of the phonological processes listed above. At a third stage (3), the obstruentizing of glides was extended to affect glides in syllable initial position. This extension may have been a generalization stemming from the coincidence of morpheme and syllable boundaries in cases of reduplication and compound noun formation. Note the consonant cluster examples in Ib and Ic.

The examples in Ia are verb stems which end in a consonant cluster with appropriate verbal suffixes. The suffixes in the Ia examples are +Vn +k. The second of the two stem final consonants may be syllabified with the +Vk suffix. This syllabification permits obstruentizing of the glide which is (by syllabification) "morpheme" initial. The tendency seems to be that consonants are syllabified to the following vowel. Note the examples in II. These seem to be examples of obstruentized syllable initial glides, the glide having been syllabified as part of the following syllable. It is this stage in the development of Coban K'ekchi which Campbell's rule might accurately describe.

However, one class of verb stems seems to block the type of syllabification described above. This class of verb stems is derived from CVC shaped verb roots. It includes examples (11) - (14) as well as the following verb stems: [q'uy], [c'uy], [c'oy], [coy], and [kuy] as described in V. It is an extremely large class of verb stems whose canonical shape is the most prevalent in K'ekchi. By analogy, a few verb stems derived from CVC shaped noun roots and adverb roots seem to behave like the CVC shaped verb root class of verb stems.

In the present - the fourth (4) stage in the development of Coban K'ekchi - the class of verb stems derived from CVC shaped verb roots and those few verb stems derived from CVC shaped noun or adverb roots might be marked as exceptions to the rule obstruentizing syllable initial glides. There would seem to be some motivation for this marking of exceptional verb stems. However, one would have to arbitrarily mark other nouns exceptional as well, e.g., section V (15), section VI (16) [awonel], and (17) [kawil hab'], and section VII (18, 19, 20).

The arbitrary marking of exceptions suggests another possibility. I propose four glide phonemes - /y/, /ẙ/, /w/ and /ẘ/, and a phonological rule de-obstruentizing /ẙ/ and /ẘ/ in word final position. This analysis suggests that the variation which Flora recognizes in the community may be due to some speakers lexicalizing the examples in VII in one way and other speakers lexicalizing those examples in a different way - a case of "you say tomeyto and I say tomato." What is consistent is the de-obstruentized glide in word final position. This analysis also suggests that [awonel] and [kawil hab'] are primitive lexical items not items derived from the roots {aẘ} 'to plant' and {kaẘ} 'strong/hard.' Another attractive aspect of this analysis is that the de-obstruentizing rule parallels the other phonological processes affecting word final consonants, e.g., de-glottalization and de-voicing. And, finally, this analysis is satisfactory in that it accurately describes Flora's treatment of K'ekchi glides.

4.0 K'ekchi vowels

In section 1.0, I listed ten contrastive vowels. Five of these were long - a:, e:, i:, o:, and u:, and five were short - a, e, i, o, and u. There are several other sources of vowel length alternation in K'ekchi.

4.1 Vowel length - from probable suprasegmental sources

The data which follow suggest that there is an interplay between word final stress and word final syllables in which there is a specific type of consonant cluster, namely, a consonant cluster in which the first consonant is a resonant and the second consonant is an obstruent. C - consonant, V - vowel, R - resonant, O - obstruent, and # - word boundary. = means syllable boundary.

Examples:

'food'	[cakaé:mk]	'change - money'	[b'wé:lt]
'man'	[ẘí:nq]	'in-law'	[b'á:lk]
'domestic animals'	[ketó:mk]	'saint'	[sá:nt]
'bean'	[ké:nq]	'door'	[pwé:rt]
'ant'	[sá:nk]	'bench'	[pá:nk]
'nail'	[klá:wš]	'car'	[á:wt]
'thief'	[é:lq']	'a type of pepper'	[pé:nš]
'ox'	[b'ó:yš]	'garlic'	[á:nš]
'soup'	[ká:lt]	'force'	[pwé:rs]

Notice the examples on the next page. It is only when a syllable final consonant cluster in word final position is composed of a resonant and an obstruent that the vowel is found to be lengthened.

4.2 Vowel length - from the Passive

For a certain class of verbs, the passive is made by adding -Vk to a root which as a (C)VCV shape. The resulting phonetic output is (C)VCV:k.

Examples:

active voice		passive voice	
'he pulled it'	[škeloO]	'it was pulled'	[škelo:k]
'he blew (on) it'	[šẘaluU]	'it was blown (on)'	[šẘalu:k]
'he made fun of'	[šsec'uU]	'he was made fun of'	[šsec'u:k]
'he swept it'	[šmesuU]	'it was swept'	[šmesu:k]
'he cleaned it'	[šsaq̬'iU]	'it was cleaned'	[šsaq'i:k]
'he contemplated it'	[sq'unb'eE]	'it was contemplated'	[šq'unb'e:k]
'he followed it'	[šta:qeE]	'he was followed'	[šta:qe:k]
'he heard it'	[šsab'iI]	'he was heard'	[šsab'i:k]
'he awoke her'	[šsaxsiI]	'he was awakened'	[šsaxsi:k]
'he chased it'	[šsalinaA]	'he was chased'	[šsalina:k]

4.3 Phonemic vowel length from diachronic /h/ loss, and word final vowel shortening

In Coban K'ekchi, and in Flora's speech, there is a set of words which have a CV: surface stem shape. In other dialects of K'ekchi, these words have a CVh surface stem shape, e.g., Coban - [pa:ok] - 'to open'; Chamelco - [pahok] - 'to open'. Campbell (1974) has suggested that such underlying long vowels are shortened in word final position, e.g., 'to open' [pa:ok]; 'open it' [pa]. Further examples are:

'wet'	[c'a:c'o]	'wet it'	[c'aA]
'his pain'	[šsa:il]	'hurt him'	[šaA]
'open'	[te:to]	'open it'	[teE]
'to say'	[ẙe:ok]	'say it'	[ẙeE]
'to make it cold'	[ke:ok]	'cold'	[keE]

4.1 Vowel length - from probable suprasegmental sources

gloss	=(C)V́:RO#	gloss	=(C)VROV́C#	gloss	=(C)V́R#	gloss	=(C)V́OO#
'to grab from'	[sa:pú:nk]	'his grabbing it'	[šsa:punkíl]	'he grabbed it from'	[šsa:pún]	'to awaken'	[áxk]
'to confess'	[sotó:nk]	'his confessing it'	[šsotonkíl]	'he confessed it'	[šsotón]	'brave'	[xósk']
'to sing'	[b'icá:nk]	'his singing it'	[šb'icankíl]	'he sang it'	[šb'icán]	'to lose'	[sáčk]
'to spill corn'	[paxí:nk]	'his spilling it'	[špaxinkíl]	'he spilled it'	[špaxín]	'foam'	[ŵókš]
'to bother'	[c'ib'é:nk]	'his bothering it'	[šc'ib'enkíl]	'he bothered it'	[šc'ib'en]	'dust'	[póqs]
'to fire a rifle'	[pub'á:nk]	'his firing it'	[špub'ankíl]	'he fired it'	[špub'án]	'to get old'	[tíšk]
'to hold firmly'	[ku:tú:nk]	'his holding firmly'	[šku:tunkíl]	'he held it firmly'	[šku:tún]	'to do'	[úšk]
'to give a punishment'	[q'oq'ó:nk]	'his giving it'	[šq'oq'onkíl]	'he gave it'	[šq'oq'ón]	'to become bored'	[tíc'k]
'to put firewood to burn'	[sisá:nk]	'his putting it to burn'	[šsisankíl]	'he put it to burn'	[šsisán]	'to exhaust oneself'	[láxk]
'to wrap'	[b'atasí:nk]	'his wrapping it'	[šb'atasi:nkíl]	'he wrapped it'	[šb'atasín]	'from today'	[mísk]
'to laugh'	[seʔé:nk]	'his laughing (at) it'	[šseʔenkíl]	'he laughed (at) it'	[šseʔén]	'wet'	[b'áqš]
'to count'	[axlá:nk]			'he counted it'	[šsaxlá]		
'to carry'	[b'itó:nk]			'she carried it'	[šb'itó]		
'to blow'	[apú:nk]			'he blew (it)'	[šapú]		
'to do'	[b'anú:nk]			'he did it'	[šb'anú]		
'to clean'	[aq'í:nk]			'he cleaned it'	[šsaq'í]		
'to answer'	[caq'b'é:nk]			'he answered it'	[šcaq'b'é]		
'to plant'	[á:wk]			'he planted it'	[šsáw]		
'to get stuck'	[t'í:lk]			'he got stuck'	[št'íl]		
'to increase'	[tá:mk]			'he increased it'	[štám]		
'to sleep'	[ŵá:rk]			'he slept'	[šŵár]		
'to be late'	[b'á:yk]			'he was late'	[šb'áy]		
'to be'	[ŵá:nk]			'he was'	[šŵán]		

'to embitter'	[k'a:ok]	'bitter'	[k'aA]
'to devine'	[q̬'e:ik]	'fortune teller'	[q̬'eE]
'to stink'	[ču:ok]	'stink'	[čuU]
'to become tasty'	[ša:ok]	'tasty'	[šaA]

It is not clear to me that there is shortening in these cases. Sometimes these vowels do seem to be shorter; other times they do not seem shorter than the word internal vowel nor do they seem as short as underlying short vowels found in word final position. (compare with the active voice examples in 4.2.) Campbell and I have noted that resonants and the implosive /b'/ devoice in word final position and that vowels also have a slight voiceless release in final position. Because English speakers are accustomed to suprasegmental lengthening of final syllables in English, Campbell may have expected these K'ekchi long internal vowels to exhibit more length in final position than they do. This expectation may have caused him to ignore the "shortening" effect of the resonant devoicing rule. He may, thus, have interpreted the K'ekchi underlying long vowels as being phonetically much shorter in final position than they actually were. I suggest that what might seem to be vowel shortening is actually a consequence of the sonorant devoicing rule and that no further generalization is necessary.

This paper has listed the contrastive sounds in K'ekchi, described the production of obstruents, the production of resonants and the production of vowels. It has also described certain phonological processes these classes of sounds undergo.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Eachus and Carlson (1966), Freeze (1970), Sedat (1955), Haeserijn (1966) and Campbell (1974).

[2] Flora's pronunciation of /t/ seems to be influenced by her Spanish production of /t/ and /d/ both of which are dental. Flora has incorporated many Spanish loans into her vocabulary. Some of these are older loans and one can see the devoicing of the voiced phonemes originally found in the Spanish words. For example: 'bench' [pa:nk] from Spanish banca; 'guitar' [kitaš] from Spanish guitarra; 'evil spirit' [tyap] from Spanish diablo; and the proper name Candelaria [kantelL]. More recent loans have not devoiced the Spanish voiced obstruents. Examples: 'the devil' [diabB] from Spanish diablo; 'candel' [kandel] from Spanish candela; 'bank' [ba:nk] from Spanish banco; and 'friend' [amigG] from Spanish amigo. Thus, in a peripheral way, Flora has available to her some of the voiced phonemes of Spanish. I was also able to elicit one word, apparently a loan word from some other indian language, which has a bilabial ejective /p'/ - example: 'grass' [p'ačaẙa].

[3] Most sources write obstruentized w as [kw]. Many sources write obstruentized y as [ty]. In this volume, obstruentized ẘ can be found as [kw] and obstruentized y as [ẙ] everywhere except this phonology paper where both obstruentized glides are written as /ẘ/ and /ẙ/.

[4] I use slashes / / around the phonemic or underlying form from which the phonetic or surface form which I enclose in square brackets [ ] will be derived. Curly brackets { } identify morphemes.

[5] The release of items ending in unglottalized unaspirated obstruents is also variable. Some repetitions of an item will have a slight breathy release and other repetitions will not. Non-glottalized affricates have a smoother less explosive release than the glottalized affricates which are consistently released with a terse explosive burst. In the case of words ending in glottalized affricates, glottalic constriction on the preceeding vowel is minimal.

[6] Stress seems to be signalled primarily by pitch in K'ekchi. It is always word final and there do not seem to be any secondary stresses in a word. K'ekchi utterances have an intonational contour which is level throughout until the end of the utterance where the pitch rises. Emphatic words within the sentence (which are usually preposed to a sentence initial position) also take a rising pitch. Questions and commands do not seem to be signalled by a different intonational contour as in English but are signalled by question particles or imperative suffixes.

[7] I use the term glide obstruentizing to mean the same thing as Campbell's term glide strengthening.

A SKETCH OF K'EKCHI VERB MORPHOLOGY

Robert Freund

1. This paper is intended as an outline of the major features that characterize the structure of a part of the morphological system of K'ekchi, a Mayan language of Guatemala. Its major concern will be to present the data organized within a taxonomic framework that will comfortably fit it and will hopefully enable investigators to make insightful statements about the material. A second major concern will be to devise an adequate terminology to refer to the categories and relations that go to make up the taxonomy.

No attempt has been made to relate the material to any wider theoretical point of view, or to any considerations of general properties of natural languages and the like. The discussion has been carried through on a purely language-specific basis. It is hoped that at some time in the future a more general and more theoretically-oriented treatment may be worked out, to which this work can be looked upon as a preliminary report, but I have not thought it proper to attempt anything of that sort within the confines of this essay. Introduction of theoretical apparatus has been avoided, with the exception of some few basic concepts (e.g. that of *morpheme*). Otherwise the treatment is purely descriptive.

For purposes of this essay, the morphological system has been viewed as an autonomous component though related to the other (phonological, syntactic, semantic) components of the grammar. Whether this point of view is theoretically defensible or not remains to be seen. I have found it to be admirably useful.

A word about some of the terminology is in order. I have used terms like *noun*, *verb*, *adverb*, etc. to refer to elements of the syntactic system or to syntactic roles associated with morphological elements. Similarly the terms *subject*, *object*, *transitive*, *intransitive*, have been used to refer to syntactic relationships. All these terms are undefined in the text and are used more or less in their generally accepted syntactic meanings unless otherwise specified. All terms relating to the morphological system itself, however, have been explicitly defined.

This treatment is necessarily incomplete and there are numerous gaps in the data. These tend to be overlooked until informants are no longer accessible, and so they must stand. I apologize for these. Without doubt many details of the analysis are either wrong or represent distortions. This is inevitable at this stage and one can only try to keep the number of such failings to a minimum, which I have done. Criticisms and comments will be welcomed.

2. MORPHEMES

Since we will be dealing with a part of the morphological system of K'ekchi, it would be well to settle at the outset just what we mean when we use the term *morpheme*. For the purposes of this essay, therefore, I will define the term as follows: a morpheme is a pair of elements <a,b>, one of which is a phonological representation (i.e., a bundle of information defining the phonological shape(s) which the item in question will assume), the other being composed of a bundle of non-phonological information. This last may consist of information about the semantic or syntactic properties of particular lexical items, properties of elements of the syntactic system, or information regarding grammatical or derivational relations holding among such items. For example, the K'ekchi word *š-kw-il* can be analyzed into three morphemes, divided as shown. The first of these is composed of the phonological string (in this case one segment long) *š*, together with a second component defining this as one of the past tense morphemes. The second morpheme is similarly made up of the string *kw* and the information that this represents the first person singular pronoun, subject of a transitive verb. Lastly, we have the string il paired with information defining the lexical item meaning see something. The whole word therefore means 'I saw him,it' and can be represented schematically by the formula Past Tense - 1st Person Sg. Subject - see it.

It is important to note that under this definition, the strings š, kw, or il are not morphemes by themselves, nor are the non-phonological components represented in the formula above morphemes by themselves. They are only morphemes when they are paired with each other. We will consider the set of objects (pairs) of this sort existing in K'ekchi, together with the relations that hold among them, to constitute the morphological system of the language.[1] As stated previously, these concepts are not intended to have any wider theoretical validity, though that may well be the case. They are only being used as a convenient means of talking about the material to be dealt with below.

3. INFLECTIONAL AND GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

The K'ekchi inflectional system distinguishes the main grammatical categories with which we are familiar: person (first, second, third), number (singular and plural), tense (past, present, future) and probably aspect, although details about this last are unclear to me at present. All of these features are overtly and obligatorily reflected in the inflection of K'ekchi words; where applicable. In addition, there are other categories whose manifestation is not obligatory, like stativeness of verbs, and whether or not these are overtly signalled depends largely on the lexical item or class of lexical items in question. Examples forthcoming in the following text will make this clear and so there is no need to elaborate on it here. In addition, the inflectional system indicates the syntactic role of words, that is to say, it distinguishes nouns from verbs, both of these from adjectives and pronouns, etc., and signals the grammatical relationships which hold among the parts of the sentence.

4. Before dealing with the inflectional system in detail, it is advisable to say a few words about these grammatical relationships and the way they are structured with respect to the inflectional system.

On the surface syntactic level, it is possible to distinguish (at least) five classes of relations between syntactic objects. We will list these below giving examples both in K'ekchi and English, with the relevant elements in the example sentences underlined. The relations in question are those that hold between:

a) an intransitive verb and its subject
   š-kwar li kwi:nq
   the man slept
b) a transitive verb and its direct object
   šin-sak' li c'iʔ
   I hit the dog
c) an attributive predicate and its subject
   nim li čeʔ
   the tree is big
d) a transitive verb and its subject
   naš-loč li išq li škandil
   the woman lights her candle
e) a class of relations holding between pairs of noun(phrase)s which are not overtly linked by a verb, e.g.:
   r-oq li c'iʔ — the dog's foot
   r-awb'al li išim — the planting of the corn

The K'ekchi inflectional system treats the first three of these relations uniformly, and I will refer to them collectively as the independent relation(s). The last two are similarly grouped together and I will call them the dependent relation(s).[2] These syntactic relations are reflected quite consistently, with certain systematic exceptions to be dealt with later on, in the morphological system.

5. INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

The elements that make up the K'ekchi inflectional system may be divided into the following groups:

5.1 Pronominal elements, of which there are two sets, sometimes referred to as the ergative and absolutive sets of pronouns. I prefer to call them simply class A and class B, reserving the terms ergative and absolutive for the inflectional patterns in which these pronominal affixes appear. A discussion of the pronominal affixes is to be found in Pinkerton's paper in this volume, and I will do no more than mention them here.

5.2 Tense-aspect prefixes. There are six of these, all prefixed to the verb stem and coming first in order in the verb complex, before any of the other affixes.

The present habitual prefix has the form n(V)-/nVk(V)- . The quality of the vowel depends on the vowel contained in the following pronominal element.[3] It is used when the verb describes an action that is present, customary, or habitual, e.g.

n-a:kw-il	Pres. - 2sg - see it	'you're looking at it,you see it'
na-r-ax	Pres. - 3sg - want it	'he wants it'
nek-eʔ-kwar	Pres. - 3pl - sleep	'they're sleeping,they sleep'

There are two past tense prefixes, k(i)- and š-. The semantic distinction associated with their respective uses is not clear. It has been claimed (see Haeserijn among others) that it is one of distant versus recent past, but this does not seem to be borne out by the data available to me. The data is fragmentary and inconclusive, however, so it is not possible to say exactly what is going on. One regularity that can be stated is that the k(i)- prefix appears to be used more frequently in narration, while the š- prefix seems to appear more often in conversation. Examples of the use of both affixes follow:

š-a:kw-il	k-a:kw-il	'you saw it'
š-r-ax	ki-r-ax	'he wanted it'
š-eʔ-kwar	k-eʔ-kwar	'they slept'

The prefix t(a)- is the usual form that is employed in neutral future contexts, although it has other subsidiary uses as well (see below § 5.3).

t-a:kw-il	'you'll see it'
ta-r-ax	'he'll want it'
t-eʔ-kwa:r-q[4]	'they'll sleep'

For the -q suffix on the last example, see § 5.3.

The prefix č(i)- is used in wishes, polite commands, exhortations, prayers and the like. It may be thought of as an optative or hortatory future marker, and its use is closely related to that of the imperatives. It always co-occurs with the future suffix -q when prefixed to an absolutive stem (see below § 5.3).

č-a:kw-il	'you go look at it'
či-r-ax	'may he desire it'
č-eʔ-kwa:r-q	'let them sleep'

The preceding construction is made negative by using the prefix m(a)- as shown by the following example:

m-a:kw-il	'don't look at it'

In all these forms, the final vowel of the prefix is deleted if the following element begins with a vowel. This is apparent in the examples cited above.

5.3 Tense-Aspect Suffixes. These have the following forms for the functions indicated:

1) -k	non-future
2) -q	future
3) -aq	future attributive

The second of these is used with stems inflected on the absolutive pattern when the prefixes t(a)- or č(i)- are present. Elsewhere in the absolutive pattern the suffix -k is used. There are instances of the -k suffix being used in the presence of the t(a)- prefix, and in these cases, the verb form in question does not seem to have future meaning. I have not investigated these cases in much detail, but will give here some examples of their use:

y̓al naq ta-ča:l-q '(it's) true that he'll come (fut)'
but: ta-r-ax t-o:-taqe-k he-wants-it we-come-up
'he wants us to come up'
ink'aʔ n-in-k'e a:-lese:ns re t-at-sikli-k Not I-give-it your-permission for you-smoke
'I don't let you smoke'

I do not have enough information at present to say anything about this phenomenon, however.

The suffix -aq is used with attributive stems in attributive constructions when futurity is ascribed to the predicate. Otherwise these stems have no overt tense marking. Thus we have:

y̓ax-∅-at	'you're sick'
y̓ax-aq-at	'you'll be sick'

In such constructions past tense is expressed analytically by means of the particle čaq:

y̓ax-∅-at čaq	'you were sick'

The non-future suffix -k is absent in certain situations where it might be expected. It is regularly so when it would directly follow a stem ending in a consonant. Thus, instead of the expected *nek-eʔ-kwa:r-k 'they're sleeping' we find nek-eʔ-kwar. When the stem ends in a vowel, the suffix appears: na-c'i:b'a-k 'he's writing'. It is also absent, however, in the past tense of certain classes of verbs, and in the present tense of some others, even in cases where the stem ends in a vowel. It is not entirely clear how these classes should be defined.

5.4 Imperative markers. There are four of these, distinguishing between second person singular and plural in both the ergative and absolutive inflectional pattern. Their form is as follows:

	Absolutive	Ergative
2 sing	-n	-∅
2 plur	-nk-eš	-(o)maq

Examples of their use are:	pisk'o-n	jump (sg)
	pisk'o-nk-eš	jump (pl)
	c'i:b'a	write it (sg)
	c'i:b'a-omaq	write it (pl)

The impersonal stem (§ 8.3) forms its imperative by adding the suffix -q:

c'i:b'a-ma:n-q	'let it be written'
kut-ma:n-q	'someone throw it'

It is not clear at present whether or not this suffix is related to the future tense marker.

Imperatives of transitive verbs with second or first person objects are expressed by using the form with the prefix č(i)-, as in:

č-in-a:kw-il	pref. - 1sg - 2 sg - look at 'look at me'

6. INFLECTIONAL PATTERNS

6.1 Every word in K'ekchi, with the exception of a restricted class of particles, can be analyzed in terms of four well-defined inflectional patterns, which are illustrated on the chart on page 43. These four patterns will be referred to as the

1) Ergative
2) Absolutive
3) Attributive, and
4) Nominal

inflectional patterns. The names are intended to be suggestive of the syntactic uses of the words occurring in these patterns, each appearing in definite clause types (cf. also Marlys Bacon, clause structure, this volume).

6.2 As can be seen from the chart on page 43 and the inventory of morphemes on page 44, the Ergative pattern is characterized by the presence of four elements: a tense prefix, a class A pronoun signifying the object of the verb, and a class B pronoun signifying the subject, followed by the verb stem. Thus we get forms like:

š-in-a:kw-il	Pst-1sg-2sg-see it	'you saw me'
t-at-q-a:tina	Fut-2sg-1pl-speak to	'we will speak to you'
na-Ø-š-loq'	Pres-3sg-3sg-buy it	'he's buying it'

This inflectional pattern is further characterized by the absence of any tense-aspect suffixes.[5]

The absolutive pattern is similar to the ergative except that there is only one pronominal prefix, which belongs to class A and designates the subject of the verb. There is also a tense-aspect suffix in most cases (see § 5.3).

š-in-b'e:-k	Pst-1st-walk-nonfut.	'I walked'
ki-:-kam	Pst-3sg-die	'he died'
t-at-ča:l-q	Fut-2sg-come-fut	'you'll come'

The attributive pattern is made up of a stem followed by a class A pronominal affix with an intervening tense-aspect suffix if futurity is to be expressed. Absence of prefixes is obligatory. The suffixed pronoun indicates the subject of the predication.

b'iom-at	rich - 2sg	'you are rich'
kwinq-eš	man - 2pl	'you are men'
ʔax-aq-o:	sick-fut-1pl	'we'll be sick'
k'oxk'o-k-eb'[6]	seated - 3pl	'they're seated'

The nominal pattern is characterized by the presence of prefixed class B pronominal affixes and a nominal stem. There are no tense-aspect affixes or class A pronominal elements.

qa:-c'iʔ	1pl-dog	'our dog'
r-očoč	3sg-house	'his house'

The presence of pronominal prefixes in this pattern is sometimes obligatory and sometimes prohibited, but usually optional (see § 12 on nominal stems). When they are present, they represent a second noun phrase that stands in some grammatical relation with the one represented by the stem, where this relation is not overtly expressed by a verb in the surface representation of the sentence (cf. also Stone this volume).

6.3 Any morphological element which is not one of the inflectional affixes listed above, and which fits into the slot marked STEM in the formulas for the inflectional patterns as represented on the chart, I will refer to as a *stem*. A stem is therefore a morphological unit which may take inflectional affixes. If such an element occurs in the ergative inflectional pattern I will refer to it as an *ergative stem*, and I will use the terms *absolutive*, *attributive* and *nominal* stem in an analogous way. Whether a given stem appears in pattern 1, 2, 3, or 4, or any combination of these is, from the point of view of the morphological system, an idiosyncratic property of the stem itself or of the syntactic element or lexical item it is associated with.

Often the same stem appears to occur in more than one inflectional pattern, as is the case with the stem *kwan* 'be' which can be inflected either as an attributive or as an absolutive stem (cf. Stone this volume). In such cases I will speak of the attributive stem *kwan*, and the absolutive stem *kwan*, for example, as if there were two separate stems of the same form. This is in keeping with the definition of *stem* as an element filling a slot in a pattern, and serves to emphasize the functional difference between the two stems within the morphological system.

It can be seen from the examples cited and the description of the inflectional patterns that the independent relations are all signalled by the presence of class A pronominal affixes, while the dependent relations are signalled by class B affixes. There are, however, a class of exceptions to this generalization which we shall deal with in the following section.

In general, it will be found that ergative stems have properties that speakers of English would associate with transitive verbs, absolutive stems with intransitive verbs. Attributive stems behave like English adjectives, stative verbs, and predicate nouns, while nominal stems are like English nouns, prepositions, and derived nominals. These identifications are not consistently valid, however, and are only intended to suggest the nature of the K'ekchi categories.

As a convenient cover term, I will sometimes refer to ergative and absolutive stems as *verbal* stems, in view of their closer relationship to things that show up as verbs in English and their syntactic function as verbs. The rest of the stems I will refer to as *non-verbal* stems. These terms of course refer to the morphological categories only and not to the syntactic elements with which the morphemes are associated.

7. CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF VERB STEMS

We are now in a position to consider the various kinds of verb stems that are found in K'ekchi and their distribution through the four inflectional patterns. As has been noted above, the particular inflectional class that a stem may occur in is partly determined by the kind of syntactic construction in which it appears. In this section we will examine the ramifications of this statement in some greater detail.

7.1 An examination of K'ekchi sentence patterns reveals that ergative stems only occur in syntactic constructions containing a defined noun phrase which is the direct object of the verb with which the stem is associated. The term defined noun phrase (or definite NP) is used here to designate a NP that is either preceded by a definite article, demonstrative pronoun, or numeral, or which is inflected with a class B (ergative) pronominal element. First and second person pronouns also count as definite. There are some further restrictions on the use of the ergative stems which depend on certain syntactic properties of the sentences in which they appear (see Pinkerton this volume, and Freeze, 1970, for more detailed discussion of this phenomenon). If the verb occurs in any kind of construction other than those defined above, the verbal stem must be inflected according to the absolutive pattern.

Because of this constraint on the occurrence of ergative stems, it is possible to have a transitive verb, with a direct syntactic object, represented by a stem that is inflected on the absolutive pattern, in which the class A (absolutive) pronominal prefix is the morphological manifestation of the subject of the transitive verb. This is an exception to the rule stated above that the dependent relations are always signalled by class B (ergative) pronominal elements.

Some examples to illustrate the uses of these different classes of verb stems may help to make some of the preceding discussion clear. The following sentences, where the verbs are transitive with defined direct objects, all exhibit instances of ergatively inflected stems:

š-Ø-qa-c'i:b'a li hu	Pst-3sg A-1pl B -write it the letter 'we wrote the letter'
t-Ø-in-sak' a:-c'iʔ	Fut-3sg-1sg-hit it 2sg-dog 'I'm going to hit your dog'
š-Ø-in loq' kwib' č'op	Pst-3sg-1sg-buy it two pineapple 'I bought two pineapples'
š-at-kw-il	Pst-2sg-1sg-see 'I see you'

The sentences below, on the other hand, differ from those above in that the direct object of the verb is indefinite. In this case the use of ergative stems is impossible. We must use forms that are inflected on the absolutive pattern, and a different, though morphologically related stem must be employed.

š-o:-c'i:b'an hu	Pst-1pl A-write it (abs) letter 'We wrote a letter,letters'
t-in-sak'o-q c'iʔ	Fut-1sg-hit it(abs)-fut dog 'I'm going to hit a dog,some dogs'
š-in-loq'o-k č'op	Pst-1sg-buy it (abs)-nonfut pineapple 'I bought a pineapple,pineapples'

In the following sentences, there is no direct object, so intransitive stems appear. These, of course, are inflected on the absolutive pattern.

š-o:-c'i:b'a-k kwib' ʔor ekwer	Pst-1pl A-write-nonfut two hour yesterday 'I wrote for 2 hrs. yesterday'
š-in-b'e:-k Kob'an	Pst-1sg-walk-nonfut Coban 'I walked to Coban'
t-at-kwa:r-q saʔ kosin	Fut-2sg-sleep-fut in kitchen 'you'll sleep in the kitchen'

Note that the two stems c'i:b'a (erg) and c'i:b'a (Intr) are distinct stems having the same form, not the same stem in two different uses, by virtue of the way we have defined the terms stem and morpheme (q.v. §§ 2, 6.3), since one is associated with a transitive syntactic element, the other with an intransitive one, as well as belonging to different inflectional classes.

These examples show that the morphological distinction between ergative and absolutive stems, which has been defined with reference to a stem's ability to occur in particular inflectional patterns, does not exactly correspond to the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. This last distinction is determined by the ability of particular verbs to occur in syntactic constructions with direct objects, which is a syntactic and not a morphological criterion. Since it is very important to bear this difference in mind if we are to understand the structure of the K'ekchi morphological system, I will consistently use the terms transitive, intransitive to refer to the syntactic distinction alone, and will reserve the terms ergative, absolutive to refer to the inflectional patterns. Thus in the three sentences:

š-0-qa-c'i:b'a li hu	'we wrote the letter'
š-o:-c'i:b'an hu	'we wrote letters,a letter'
š-at-kwar saˀ kab'	'you slept in the house'

the first two are syntactically transitive, the third intransitive. Only the first is inflected ergatively, however. The other two are inflected on the absolutive pattern.

An absolutive stem that is associated with a syntactically transitive verb (i.e. one that has a direct object), such as š-o:-c'i:b'an above, I will refer to as a transitive absolutive stem. One that is associated with a syntactically intransitive verb (without direct object) I will call an intransitive stem, e.g. š-at-kwar above. I will sometimes also refer to transitive absolutive and ergative stems as transitive stems when I wish to emphasize their syntactic role.

7.2 Although intransitive and transitive absolutive stems both fall into the same inflectional class, their range of use is different, as we would expect by their differing syntactic roles. It is not possible, for example, to use a transitive absolutive stem in an intransitive syntactic environment. Neither is it possible to use an intransitive stem in an environment that calls for a trans. abs. stem. The following (ungrammatical) examples will illustrate this point.

*š-o:-c'i:b'an kwib' or ekwer	'we wrote (TA) for 3 hrs yesterday'
*š-o:-c'i:b'a-k hu	'we wrote (intr.) letters'

This fact is easily seen in cases where the tr. ab. and intr. stems have different forms. It is not so apparent in cases where this is not so, as an example of which the stems ilo- 'see'(tr. ab.) and ilo- 'look' (intr.) may serve. In many such cases it is not clear on the face of it which kind of stem one may be dealing with.

As examples of homonymy among the three kinds of stems, we may observe the following two groups of items:

Ergative stem:	c'i:b'a	'write it'	il	'see it'
Tr. Abs. stem:	c'i:b'an	'write it'	ilo	'see it'
Intrans. stem:	c'i:b'a	'write'	ilo	'look,see'

In the first group, the ergative and intransitive have the same form, while in the second group, the two absolutive stems are homonymous. The contrast in the distribution of homonymy, however, together with the considerations outlined above, show that we are dealing with three separate stems in each case.

7.3 It is apparent from what has been said that, since any transitive verb may potentially occur in a syntactic environment that prohibits the use of an ergative stem, there must exist a pair of stems for each such verb, one taking ergative inflection, the other absolutive. Since intransitive verbs never occur in syntactic constructions that permit the use of the ergative inflectional pattern, all stems associated with intransitive verbs are absolutive stems.

We may now look at some examples of such ergative/transitive absolutive pairs:

Verb	Ergative Stem	Trans. Abs. Stem
burn it	k'at	k'ato
write it	c'i:b'a	c'i:b'an
hit it	sak'	sak'o
extinguish it	č'up	č'upu
believe it	pa:b'	pa:b'an
paint it	b'on	b'ono
stand it up	šaqab'	saqab'an
kill it	kamsi	kamsin

There are systematic relationships that hold between the form of the ergative stem and the form of the transitive absolutive stem, which we will discuss in greater detail in the next section.

The following chart will help to illustrate the relationships between the lexical elements and their associated verb stems:

VERB TYPE	STEM TYPE
Transitive	Ergative
	Absolutive
Intransitive	Absolutive

8. STEM FORMATION

Now that the distinctions discussed in the preceding section have been made clear, we are in a position to consider the various processes of stem formation that exist in K'ekchi.

8.1 We will first look at the formation of stems associated with transitive verbs. If we refer to the chart on page 43 or the list above, we can see that there are two classes of transitive absolutive/ergative pairs. The first, which I will refer to as Conjugation I, contains verbs whose transitive absolutive stems differ from their ergative stems by the presence of the suffixed element -o or -u.

Ergative	Trans. Abs.	
loq'	loq'o	'buy it'
sak'	sak'o	'hit it'
pac'	pac'o	'ask it,him'
k'at	k'ato	'burn it'
set	seto	'cut it'
k'ut	k'utu	'show it'

The second group (Conjugation II) is composed of verbs where the difference between the two stems arises from the presence of the suffixed element -n or -an in the transitive absolutive stem.

c'i:b'a	c'i:b'an	'write it'
kamsi	kamsin	'kill it'
toˀoni	toˀonin	'borrow it'
kanab'	kanab'an	'abandon it, allow it

All transitive stems belong to one of these 2 categories. The transitive absolutive stem is thus obtainable for any verb by taking the ergative stem and adding to it the suffix -o/u if it belongs to Conjugation I, or the suffix -(a)n if it belongs to Conjugation II. There seem to be no instances of transitive absolutive stems which do not fit this pattern. The alternation between o and u in the case of Conjugation I is part of a more general phonological process which prohibits the occurrence of the vowel o in a syllable immediately following one which contains the vowel u. Thus we have k'utu in place of the expected *k'uto. The suffix -an in Conjugation II is used only if the ergative stem does not end in a vowel, otherwise the termination -n appears.

8.2 In addition to the ergative and transitive absolutive stems, there are two other major classes of stems associated with the transitive verbs. One of these may be called by the somewhat misleading term agentless passive.[7] This stem is used, as the name implies, in passive-like constructions where the identity of the agent is not expressed. The agentless passive stems of verbs of Conjugation I differ[8] from the ergative stems in that they exhibit a suffixed element -eʔ. Thus the forms corresponding to the stems cited in section 8.1 are:

loq'eʔ	'be bought'
sak'eʔ	'be hit'
pac'eʔ	'be asked'
k'ateʔ	'be burned'
seteʔ	'be cut'
k'uteʔ	'be shown'

Verbs belonging to Conjugation II have agentless passive stems whose form is identical to that of the ergative stem except that the final vowel is lengthened. If the ergative stem does not end in a vowel, the agentless passive stem ends in -a:. Forms corresponding to the Conjugation II stems cited in section 8.1 are:

c'i:b'a:	'be written'
kamsi:	'be killed'
toʔoni:	'be borrowed'
kanab'a:	'be left behind, be permitted'

To illustrate the use of these stems, we may consider the following sentences:

š-Ø-sak'eʔ li c'iʔ	Pst-3sg-be hit the dog
	'the dog was hit'
ta-Ø-loq'eʔ-q li kitar	Fut-3sg be bought-fut the guitar
	'the guitar will be bought'

The agentless passive stem is an absolutive stem.

8.3 The second major class of stems associated with transitive verbs is the impersonal stem, also an absolutive stem. It is used in constructions where the subject of a transitive is not specified. In this it is like the agentless passive, except that there seems to be a difference in focus of attention which is rather subtle to a speaker of English. It can be translated into English in various ways, some examples of which will be cited below. In form it is identical to the ergative stem with the addition of the suffixed element -man. With stems of Conjugation II that do not end in a vowel, the suffix takes the form -aman. Forms corresponding to the stems cited above are:

Conj. I	loq'man	Conj. II.	c'i:b'aman
	sak'man		kamsiman
	pac'man		toʔoniman
	k'atman		kanab'aman
	setman		
	k'utman		

A form such as na-Ø-loq'man pres-3sg-buy (impers) can be translated into English by expressions such as 'it is (being) bought', 'someone is buying it', 'there is buying going on' and the like.

9. VERBAL NOUNS

9.1 Most verbs have a derived nominal stem (one of a larger class of such stems) associated with them which is used under certain syntactic conditions and which I will refer to as the *Verbal Noun* or *Infinitive*. It is used in many of the same contexts as what a speaker of English would identify as an infinitive or gerund, hence the name. For absolutive stems its form is that of the normal absolutive stem followed by the suffix -*k*. Thus the verbal nouns of the transitive absolutive stems cited in section 8.1 are:

Conj. I	loq'o-k	Conj. II	c'i:b'a:n-k
	sak'o-k		kamsi:n-k
	pac'o-k		toˀoni:n-k
	k'ato-k		kanab'a:n-k
	seto-k		
	k'utu-k		

Similarly the verbal nouns corresponding to the agentless passive stems are:

loq'eˀ-k	c'i:b'a:-k
sak'eˀ-k	kamsi:-k
pac'eˀ-k	toˀoni:-k
k'ateˀ-k	kanab'a:-k
seteˀ-k	
k'uteˀ-k	

Intransitive verbs form their verbal nouns in the same way:

ilo-k	'look'	b'e(:)-k	'walk'
ča:l-k	'come'	a:lina-k	'run'
c'i:b'a-k	'write'	ka:m-k	'die'
kwa:r-k	'sleep'		

For what are probably syntactic reasons, impersonal stems do not form verbal nouns.

9.2 All verbal nouns belong to the nominal inflectional pattern, and while absolutive ones belong to the class of nominal stems which may not be inflected with pronominal prefixes, ergative verbal nouns fall into the class which are obligatorily so inflected. This prefixed pronominal element agrees in person and number with the syntactic object of the verb with which the verbal noun is associated (cf. § 13).

The form of the verbal noun for ergative stems depends on the conjugation class to which the stem belongs. For stems of Conjugation I, it has the same form as the ergative stem with the suffixed element -*bal*. For stems of Conjugation II, it has the form of the transitive absolutive stem followed by the suffix -*kil*. Thus the verbal nouns inflected for third person object corresponding to the ergative stems cited in section 8.1 are:

Conj. I	š-loq'-b'al	Conj. II	š-c'i:b'an-kil
	š-sak'-b'al		š-kamsin-kil
	š-pac'-b'al		š-toˀonin-kil
	š-k'at-b'al		š-kanab'an-kil
	š-set-b'al		
	š-k'ut-b'al		

The same restrictions apply to the use of ergative verbal nouns as to the use of ergative stems. Many examples of the use of verbal nouns may be found in the K'ekchi text appearing in this volume.

10. PARTICIPLES

Finally, associated with all transitive verbs and with many if not most intransitive verbs is an attributive stem which we may refer to as a participle[9] since it plays a similar role in K'ekchi to that of elements with the same name in Indo-European languages. These attributive stems denote a state resulting from the action or process designated by the verb. The participles will be discussed more fully in the following section; it will be sufficient to note here that participles associated with ergative stems have the same form as the ergative verbal noun, except that the suffixes -*b'al* and -*kil* are replaced by the suffix -*b'il*, and the prefixed pronoun is absent (in accordance with the attributive inflectional pattern). Thus the participles corresponding to the verbal nouns cited in the last section would be:

Conj. I.	loq'-b'il	'bought'	Conj. II.	c'iːb'an-b'il	'written'
	sak'-b'il	'hit'		kamsin-b'il	'killed'
	pac'-b'il	'asked'		toʔonin-b'il	'borrowed'
	k'at-b'il	'burned'		kanab'an-b'il	'left, permitted'
	set-b'il	'cut'			
	k'ut-b'il	'shown'			

These are used just like any other attributive stem:

kamsin-b'il li kašlan	'the chicken is killed'
c'iːb'an-b'il li hu	'the book, letter is written'

and so forth.

Intransitive participles are formed from intransitive stems by adding the suffix -*(x)enaq* or by reduplicating the first consonant of a CVC stem and adding the suffix -*o/u* (cf. § 8.1), e.g.,

kaːm-k	'die'	ptc:	kam-enaq	'dead (person)'
lub'-k	'be, get tired'		lub'-l-u	'tired'

In the first type, the (*x*) appears when the stem ends in a vowel, otherwise not.

11. DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES

11.1 We will use the term *stem derivation* to refer to phenomena like those that appear in pairs of stems like the following:

kam (verb, intrans.) 'die'	vs.	*kamsi* (vb, trans) 'kill'
aːtin (nom.) 'word'	vs.	*aːtina* (vb, intr) 'speak'
b'e (nom.) 'path, road'	vs.	*b'e(ː)* (vb,intr) 'walk'
kana (vb, intr) 'stay'	vs.	*kanab'* (vb,trans) 'leave behind'
c'uqu (vb, intr) 'drip'	vs.	*c'uqul* (nom.) 'drop (of liquid)'
nim (adj,attr) 'big'	vs.	*niman* (vb,tr.abs.) 'enlarge self, grow large'
k'oxk'o (attr) 'be seated'	vs.	*k'oxla* (vb,intr) 'sit down'
si (nom.) 'gift'	vs.	*si* (vb,tr) 'give'
siʔ (nom.) 'firewood'	vs.	*siʔi* (vb,intr) 'gather firewood'

The material in parentheses refers to the inflectional class of the stem or gives syntactic or semantic information about the lexical item it is associated with.

In all these cases the members of each pair are obviously related to each other both morphologically and semantically. They differ however in that each member of the pair belongs to a different inflectional class or in that there is some slight semantic difference between the two. Whatever systematic statements can be made about classes of items exhibiting differences of this kind we will refer to as derivational relations.

11.2 ROOTS.

As noted in section 6.3, we have been using the term stem to refer to any element which occupies certain defined positions in each of the inflectional patterns. We will now make a useful distinction among these elements, namely that between stems and roots. If we observe the following groups of stems:

a)	kam	'die'	kamsi	'kill'	kamsinel	'killer
b)	šaqšo	'be stood'	šaqli	'sit down'	šaqab'	'stand someone'
c)	pu:b'	'gun'	pu:b'a-	'shoot it'		

We can see that the members of each group share some common element; namely, the strings kam, šaq and pu:b' for groups a), b) and c) respectively. There are also common semantic features occurring in each group which are harder to define. If we examine a larger set of data, we find that relations of this type are systematic and extend throughout the lexicon of the language. When it is possible to isolate elements like the three cited above, we will call them ROOTS, and say that the related stems are derived from them. In other words, we will be using the terms in the normally accepted sense. A root, therefore, is a morphologically unanalyzable morphological element which enters into the composition of a set of stems derived from it in a systematic manner, as in the cases cited above. This definition of the concept of root, although vague, will be sufficient for our purposes.

11.3 It will be convenient in discussing derivational relations to classify verbs with respect to some of their semantic properties. We will consider the following classes of verbs:

A) Two-Place Predicates. These are the transitive verbs, which are usually associated semantically as well as syntactically with a pair of noun phrases, their subjects and direct objects. Examples: any of the verbs cited with the ergative stems above.

B) One-Place Predicates. Intransitive verbs and attributives (q.v.), which have only one associated noun phrase.

C) Stative Predicates. These describe a state which the subject is in or a process it is undergoing, e.g. sleep, hear, stand, be sick, etc.

D) Active Predicates. These describe an act arising from an animate subject by its own power or initiative, e.g. run, sing, laugh.

E) Passive Predicates. These denote an action or process in which the subject is involved without its initiative or volition, e.g. fall down, get sick, be struck.

F) Inchoative Predicates. These signify a change of some kind: fall asleep, start crying, get up, etc.

It is clear that these classes are not mutually exclusive, that different languages may classify the same concept in different ways within this framework, and that the list is by no means exhaustive. Nevertheless, they are probably all we will need to refer to.

11.4 With this as a background we can discuss the formation of participial stems in somewhat more detail. As previously stated, transitive verbs form their participles by means of the suffix -b'il, while intransitives form theirs in two different ways. We may now state that stems associated with inchoative predicates form their participles by means of the suffix -(x)enaq. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

Inchoative Stem		Participle	
kam	'die'	kam-enaq	'dead'
sumla	'get married'	sumla-xenaq	'married'
kala	'get drunk'	kala-xenaq	'drunk'

Inchoative Stem		Participle	
kana	'stay, stop'	kana-xenaq	'left (there)'
kub'e	'go down'	kub'-enaq	'low (price)'
kula	'arrive (there)'	kula-xenaq	'arrived'

The reduplicated participle, on the other hand, is formed from roots of the form C_1VC_2 by reduplicating the C_1 and suffixing the element -o. The class of roots from which this participle can be formed may be characterized as a) transitive inchoative, b) intransitive, and c) a few others. Examples are:

a)	c'ap (tr) 'close	c'ap-c'-o	'closed
	loč (tr) 'set on fire'	loč-l-o	'burning, lit'
b)	lub' (intr) 'be, get tired'	lub'-l-u	'tired'
c)	t'or (tr) 'make round'	t'or-t'-o	'round'

The exact nature of the class of roots involved is unclear. However, intransitive inchoative roots do not seem to belong to it, neither do purely stative roots (which is not surprising).

11.5 A number of reduplicated participles are associated with a class of derived inchoative verb stems containing the affix -la or -li, most of which denote a change of position. The participle denotes the state of occupying the resulting position. Some examples are:

k'oxla	'sit down'	k'oxk'o	'seated'
muk'la	'encuclear'	muk'mu	'encucleado'
šaqli	'stand up'	šaqšo	'standing'
čunla	'sit on the ground'	čunču	'thus seated'

There is a further class of Conjugation II ergative stems formed from $C_1V_2C_3$ roots on the pattern $C_1V_2C_3$ - V_2b, which seem to be related to these stems in -la and their participles. Thus:

k'oxla	k'oxk'o	k'oxob'	'seat someone'
muk'la	muk'mu	muk'ub'	'ponerlo encucleado'
šaqli	šaqšo	šaqab'	'stand up s.t.'
čunla	čunču	čunub'	'seat s.o. on the ground'
sotla 'lie down'	sotso 'prone'	sotob'	'acostarlo'
sumla 'get married'	----	sumub'	'marry a couple'
kwiq'la 'kneel'	kwiq'kwo 'kneeling'	kwiq'ib'	'make to kneel'

The semantic relation seems to be

CVC-la 'become X' CVC-C-o 'be X' CVC-Vb 'cause s.o., s.t. to be X'

In many cases (e.g., sumla) the participle does not exist, while the other two stems do. In other cases the inchoative stem does not exist:

----	pakpo 'lying face up'	pakab' 'lay s.o. down face up'
----	t'ort'o 'round'	t'orob' 'make round'
----	upu 'lying face down'	upub' 'lay s.o. so'

11.6 There is a set of Conjugation II ergative stems ending in the element -si which can be paired with a class of intransitive stems:

kam	'die'	kamsi	'kill'
e:k'an	'moverse'	e:k'asi	'moverlo'
kub'e	'go down'	kub'si	'lower'
ok	'go in'	oksi	'put in'
taqe	'go up'	taqsi	'subirlo

The relation between the members of these pairs seems similar to that between stems like *k'oxla* and *k'oxob* above where the first member denotes a one-place predicate, while the second represents a related two-place predicate. It is not clear at this time what the difference is between these two derivational processes.

11.7. It is possible to derive verbal stems from nominal stems by the addition of the suffix -*a* to the nominal stem. This produces series of stems such as:

Nom.		Intrans.		Erg.	
a:tin	'word'	a:tina	'speak'	a:tina	'speak to him'
c'i:b'	'writing'	c'i:b'a	'write'	c'i:b'a	'write it'
pu:b'	'gun'	pu:b'a	'shoot'	pu:b'a	'shoot it'
b'ič	'song'	b'iča	'sing'	b'iča	'sing it'
išim	'corn'	išima	'shell corn'	išima	'shell the corn'

In all these cases both intransitive and ergative stems have the same form. The ergative stems all belong to Conjugation II.[10]

11.8 Intransitive stems can be formed from nominal or attributive stems by addition of the suffix -*o* (or -*oˀ* (?)) to the basic stem. The derived stem has the meaning 'be X', where X represents the state or quality denoted by the basic stem, i.e. it denotes a one-place predicate related to the meaning of the basic stem. Thus we have the following pairs:

neb'aˀ	'poor'	neb'aˀo	'be poor'
tiq	'hot'	tiqwo	'be hot' (Root = TIQW)
b'iom	'rich'	b'iomo	'be rich'
k'a	'bitter'	k'ao	'be bitter'
saq	'white'	saqo	'be white'
čab'il	'good,useful'	čab'ilo	'be good, useful'

These stems are similar in appearance to transitive absolutive stems of Conjugation I, but are distinguished from these in that they never occur with direct objects.

These are a few of the more productive derivational processes that occur in K'ekchi. Diagram III shows these and some others in schematic form. Examples of all of these formations may be found in the word list in this volume.

12. APPENDIX I: NOMINAL STEMS

The class of nominal stems can be subdivided into 2 parts with respect to the occurrence of pronominal prefixes on the stems. These are:

a) Stems for which pronominal inflection is optional or prohibited. Most stems belong to this class.
b) Stems for which pronominal inflection is obligatory.

The second class of stems I refer to as *dependent* stems, adopting a term used by Bloomfield for a similar class of forms in Algonqian languages. The nouns associated with such stems denote items which may be described as *inalienably possessed*, i.e. items whose definition must postulate or presuppose the existence of some other object. Prominent among these are names for body parts. For example the stem *oq* 'foot' cannot be used to refer to the concept of *foot* in general. It may only be used to designate a particular person's foot, and this person must always be expressed overtly, thus the obligatory inflection with a pronominal prefix: *r-oq* 'his foot'. The form **oq* by itself cannot occur. If one wishes to speak of feet in general, one may have recourse to a stem derivable from the stem *oq* by a regular morphological process and which belongs to the first class of stems, class (a) above. This stem is formed by adding the suffix -ex producing oqex 'foot' in this case.

Also belonging to class (b) are most kinship terms, and many other stems less easy to define as a class. Some examples together with their corresponding class (a) stems (dependent stems are noted by a prefixed hyphen) are:

-naʔ	'mother'	naʔb'ex	'a mother'
-as	'older brother'	asb'ex	'an older brother'
-naʔax	'location (of s.t.)'	naʔaxex	'a place'
-č'oːl	'heart'	č'oːlex	'a heart'

It is also possible to derive dependent stems from nominal stems of class (a). This is done by addition of a suffix of the form -Vl, where V is a vowel varying with the stem. Examples of such pairs are:

c'uːm	'hide,leather'	š-c'uːmal	'his,its skin (of a person,animal)'
sib'	'smoke'	š-sib'el	'its smoke (coming out of a volcano)'
tib'	'meat'	š-tib'el	'its flesh (of a living thing)'
toːn	'log'	š-toːnal	'its trunk,stalk (of a plant)'
kik'	'blood'	š-kik'el	'his blood'

Stems like this can be formed from attributive stems also. They then denote the abstract quality referred to by the attributive. Thus we have -kač'inal 'small size' from kač'in 'small'. These can then be used in constructions like the following:

k'axo š-kač'inal li c'iʔ
great 3sg-small the dog = 'the small size of the dog is of
size great extent'
i.e. 'the dog is very small'

This gives rise to forms like:

-nimal	'size'	nim	'big'
-saqil	'whiteness'	saq	'white'
-č'anaʔusal	'goodness, beauty'	č'anaʔus	'good,pretty'
-tiqwal	'heat'	tiq	'hot' (root: TIQW)
-q'esnal	'roughness, sharpness'	q'es	'rough,sharp (root: Q'ESN)

The ending here appears to take the form -al when the stem contains a non-low vowel, otherwise it shows up as -il. There are one or two exceptions that I have found.

The question arises whether the formation of the ergative verbal noun (q.v. § 9.2) is related to these forms. Apart from the formal similarity, which is only partial, I have not yet found any convincing evidence that this is so.

13. APPENDIX II: VERBAL NOUNS

The verbal noun is used in place of a verbal word in certain situations where the syntactic subject of the verb has been deleted. Concerning the prefixed pronoun, it would seem at first glance that we have here a violation of the generalization made in § 6.3 that the type B pronominal element always expresses the dependent relation, since here we see it referring to the direct object of a transitive verb, which we have defined as an example of the independent relation. On closer examination however, we see that the anomaly is spurious. Since the definitions of the relations are in terms of surface syntactic categories, and since the verbal noun is not a verb, but a *noun* on the surface level, what we are dealing with here is a surface grammatical relation holding between two noun phrases, the verbal noun and its underlying direct object, so that this is really a case of the *dependent* relation, quite properly signalled by a type B pronoun. The fact that the verbal noun is a nominal element on the surface and not verbal can be demonstrated by its ability to be preceded by a definite article, as well as the fact that it can function as the object of a transitive verb:

na-qa-col li il-o-k ru hu
'we are learning the reading'
(lit. looking at a book)
i.e. 'we are learning to read'

or as the subject of an attributive:

tento š-kamsi-n-kil li kašlan
necessary the-killing-of the chicken
'the chicken must be killed'

č'aˀax š-y̌e-b'al a a:tin aˀan
hard its-saying that word
'that word is hard to say'

That it is not verbal on the surface is indicated by its inability to take tense-aspect affixes. This (together with the conditions on the use of ergative stems) is evidence for the superficial nature of "ergativity" (i.e., the use of ergative stems and type B pronouns) in K'ekchi, which appears to be determined largely by surface syntactic factors rather than deep syntactic or semantic factors.

(I) INFLECTIONAL PATTERNS CHART

1) ERGATIVE

Tense Prefix + A Pronoun + B Pronoun + Stem

š	+	at	+	in	+	sak'		
Pst		2sg		1sg		hit	'I hit you'	

2) ABSOLUTIVE

Tense Prefix + A Pronoun + Stem + Tense-Suffix

š	+	at	+	ilo	+	k	
Pst		2sg		look		Non-future	'I looked'

3) ATTRIBUTIVE

Stem + Tense Suffix + A Pronoun

ʔax	+	aq	+	at	
sick		Fut		2sg	'you'll be sick'

4) NOMINAL

B Pronoun + Stem

a:	+	c'iʔ	
2sg		dog	'your dog'

IMPERATIVES: Imperatives are formed by adding the imperative endings to an appropriate stem (§ 5.4). If an imperative with a direct object which is not 3pers is to be expressed, a stem inflected on the ergative pattern with a tense-marker č(i)- is used.

(II) STEM FORMATION CHART

A. TRANSITIVE VERBS

	I	IIa	IIb
Ergative	S	S	S
Tr. Abs.	S + o	S + n	S + an
Pass.	S + eʔ	S + :	S + a:
Impers.	S + man	S + man	S + aman

B. VERBAL NOUNS

Ergative	-S + b'al	-S + n + kil	-S + an + kil
Absolutive (all types)	S + k		

S = stem : = vowel length

(III) DERIVATIONAL PATTERNS CHART

FORMATION	CLASS OR MEANING	INFL. TYPE	BASE
1) CVC-C-o 123 1	Stative, Ptc, Perfective	ATT	Absolutive roots not specified for stativeness (?)
2) S-(x)enaq			Inchoative stems
3) S-b'il			Transitive stems
4) S-si	Transitive	ERG	Intransitive verbal stems that are not stative (?)
5) $S\text{-}ob\left\{\begin{matrix}r\\t\end{matrix}\right\}esi$			Stative,attributive stems
6) CVC-Vb 123 2			Neutrally stative roots (?)
7) S-la/li	Inchoative	ABS	Neutrally stative roots and stems (?)
8) S-o	Intransitive	ABS	Ergative roots, attributive or nominal stems
9) S-(x)ik	State of being, act of idea represented by S	NOM	Inchoative stems
10) CVC-C-o-k-il 123 1	State of being, act of idea rep. by CVC-C-o	NOM	Stem formation 1
11) S-il		NOM	Non-dependent nom. stems
12) S-(e)b'al	Place where	NOM	Absolutive stems (?)
13) ax S-nel	Agent noun	NOM	Active predicate stems
14) S-leb	Instrument	NOM	Active predicate stems
15) S-al/il	Abstract noun	DEP NOM	Attributive stems
16) S-Vl	Noun	DEP NOM	Non-dependent nom. stems
17) S-(b)ex	Non-dependent nom.	NOM	Dependent nom. stems

(IV) Following is a morphological analysis of the forms appearing in the first few sentences of the K'ekchi text included in this volume.

r-e	dep. nom. stem 3 sg-to
li q'olo-k	T.A. verbal noun, stem: q'olo 'harvest s.t.'
li b'en kwa	compound noun stem b'en 'top, first' kwa 'occasion'
na-Ø-uš-man	pres. hab. - 3sg. - impersonal stem ušman 's.o. does s.t.'
na-Ø-aw-man	pres. hab. - 3sg. - stem: impers. < aw 'plant'
ut	'and'
a:w-k	'planting' intr. vbl. n.
na-Ø-k'ale-man	impers. < k'ale 'clear s.t.'
či-r-u	complex nom. = preposition či + r-u < -u 'face'
na-Ø-tikla	inchoative intr. stem: tikla 'begin'
š-k'ale-nkil	erg. vbl. noun (Conj II) stem -k'ale 'clear s.t.' š- 3sg.
š-naˀax	dep. nom. stem -naˀax 'location of s.t.'
kaqi	attr. stem (?) kaq 'red'
mamaˀ-ke:nq	compound noun stem ke:nq 'beans'
na-Ø-ɣe-man	impers. < ɣe 'say s.t.'
na-Ø-sik'-man	impers. < sik' 'seek s.t.'
k'al	nom. stem 'milpa'
r-očb'en	dep. nom. stem: r- 'him,it', -očb'en 'together with s.t.'
nun,lol	nom. stems
toxonaq	particle 'afterwards'
na-Ø-čal	intr. stem čal 'come'
išim	nom. stem 'corn'
q'eq'	atr.?, nom? stem
ke:nq	nom. stem
kač'in-aq,čik	particles
na-Ø-raqe	passive < raq 'finish'
š-kaˀ-aw	compound nom. š- 'its' kaˀ 'two' aw 'planting'
na-Ø-q'ol-man	impers. < q'ol 'harvest s.t.'
naq,maxiˀ	particles
na-Ø-č'e-man	impers. < č'e 'touch s.t.'
č'ɔč'	nom. stem 'earth,ground'
na-Ø-b'anu-man	impers. < b'anu 'do s.t.'
na-Ø-pac'-man	impers. < pac' 'ask s.o.'
š-lese:ns	dep. nom. š- 'his' -lese:ns 'permission'
dyos	nom 'God' < Sp. dios
š-č'e-b'al	erg. vbl. n. < č'e 'touch s.t.'
cu:l	nom. stem 'mountain'

o	particle
qa-*ʔe:q*	nom. stem?
pim	nom. stem
ma:k'a?,*aq*	particles
ti-*Ø*-*š*-*k'ul*	Future-3sg.-3sg.-erg. stem *k'ul* 'receive'
xunaq	particle, nom.?
kwi:nq	nom. stem 'man'
na-*Ø*-*k'alen*	trans. abs. < *k'ale* 'clear s.t.' cf. *na*-*Ø*-*š*-*k'ale* next stc.

Footnotes

[1] It should be added that in order for the pair <a,b> to qualify as a morpheme, it should not be further analyzable into smaller morphemes. Morphemes are therefore minimal units in these terms.

[2] I use these terms for two reasons: a) the dependent relation usually occurs in contexts where there are two noun phrases, one of which stands in some sort of grammatical or semantic dependence on the other, while cases of the independent relation normally involve only one noun phrase. b) It accords with the use of the term dependent stem which I have adapted from Bloomfield's usage in connection with a similar phenomenon in Algonquian languages, referring to stems which cannot stand by themselves in uninflected form, but must always occur with a proniminal prefix. The K'ekchi cases are discussed in § 12.

[3] Usually the vowel of the prefix agrees with that of the next syllable, unless that syllable is part of the stem. See also Pinkerton, Ergativity paper this volume.

[4] The long vowel in this form is the result of a regular phonological process that lengthens vowels in final syllables ending in a sequence of resonant plus obstruent. See also Pinkerton, Phonology paper this volume.

[5] This pattern takes an alternate form in which the A pronoun is suffixed to the stem. In this case a prefixed A pronoun may also appear. Thus there are three possibilities:

1) Tense Prefix - A pr. - B pr. - Stem
2) Tense Prefix - B pr. - Stem - A pr.
3) Tense Prefix - A pr. - B pr. - Stem - A pr.

See also Pinkerton, Ergativity paper this volume.

[6] The -k- in this form is epenthetic. It is inserted here and in other patterns whenever a stem ending in a vowel comes in contact with a suffix beginning with a vowel.

[7] The term is misleading because it is not clear that the morphological role of this stem or the syntactic role of the element it represents is comparable to that of Indo-European passives. The most that I can say is that it seems to represent an intransitive verb (syntactically) derived from a transitive one.

[8] This suffix may be susceptible to further analysis. There is a class of derived intransitive stems ending in -? that share a meaning 'undergo a process, enter a state, be in motion'. The agentless passive stems may well belong among these.

[9] I follow Haeserijn in using this term.

[10] Conjugation II appears to be made up entirely of derived ergative stems, while Conjugation I seems to contain only morphologically simple stems, mostly of CV(C) structure.

ERGATIVITY AND WORD ORDER

Sandra Pinkerton

Mayan languages case mark their pronominal system ergatively. That is, in general, a pronoun marking the subject of an intransitive sentence or the object of a transitive sentence is one of a non-agentive or absolutive set of pronoun affixes. The subject of a transitive sentence is one of an agentive or ergative set of pronoun affixes. K'ekchi is a typical Mayan language in this respect. In the first part of this paper are found data for the absolutive and ergative sets of pronouns in K'ekchi. The variation Flora exhibited during elicitation is discussed and the relationship of this variation to underlying syntactic processes is explored. The morpheme order of the absolutive and ergative pronouns is discussed in relation to the status of the tense affixes within the verb complex. The second part of this paper is devoted to an investigation of sentential word order in K'ekchi and the factors constraining it. The relationship of focus shifting and ergativity to sentential word order is discussed.

The system of pronoun affixes in K'ekchi is divided into two sets of pronouns: absolutive and ergative.

Examples:		Absolutive	Ergative	
(1)	š-	at-	Ø	č'ax.
	past tense	you		wash.

'You washed.'

(2)	š-	at-	qa-	č'ax.
		you	we	wash.

'We washed you.'

(3)	š-	o:-	a:-	č'ax.
		us	you	wash.

'You washed us.'

In addition, the absolutive set of pronouns is used in verbless constructions, e.g., (4) išq -o: čik. 'woman-we now. - We are women, now.', and the ergative set of pronouns is used in the genitive construction and with all constructions having a form similar to the genitive such as oblique cases (see Stone-Possession) and verbal nouns (see Freund-Morphology), e.g., (5) qa- lem 'our glass' and (6) nakeˀ-tenq'-an či š-trabaxin-kil. 'They-help-transitive absolutive stem ending-subordinate clause marker-its-working-ergative verb marker. - They help to work it.'.

The sets of absolutive and ergative pronouns are found in the verbless constructions and genitive constructions which follow:

ABSOLUTIVE			ERGATIVE:	/___consonant		/____vowel	
išq	-in	čik.		in-	lem	kw-	a:tin
woman	I	now.		my	glass	my	word
'I am a woman now.'							
išq	-at	čik.		a:-	lem	a:kw-	a:tin
	you			your		your	

ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE: /___consonant	/___vowel
išq -∅ čik.	š- lem	r- a:tin
she	his, her, its	his, her, its
išq -o: čik.	qa- lem	q- a:tin
we	our	our
išq -eš čik.	e:- lem	e:r- a:tin
you plural	your plural	your plural
išq -ep čik.	š- lem -ep	r- a:tin -ep
they	3rd person plural	3rd person plural

There are two sets of ergative pronouns as noted in the data. Discussing the ergative variants, Campbell (1974) notes that "the simplest generalization is that the two sets of possessive pronoun allomorphs are phonologically conditioned." However, he concludes, that K'ekchi speakers learn the set which appears above before words beginning with a consonant as the basic set and the set that appears above before words beginning with a vowel, piecemeal because there are many examples where speakers do not use the vowel initial set. He gives the following examples where the vowel initial set is used: kw-iš 'my back'; kw-is 'my blanket'; kw-ac'am 'my salt'; kw-a:tin 'my word'; kw-uk'al 'my jug'; kw-ulul 'my brains'; kw-iʔax 'my seed'; kw-išaqil 'my wife'; kw-ob'en 'my tamale'. He points out that body parts and kinsmen are inalienably possessed and tend to preserve the consonant initial set, although the vowel initial set is used by Flora for many kin terms in the Kennedy paper in this volume. Other examples demonstrate uncertainty or use of the consonant initial set: in-imul 'my rabbit'; in-inup 'my ceiba'; in-is 'my yam'; in-q'ob' 'my liquidambar'; in-ib'oy 'my armadillo'; in-ik'e 'my maguey'; in-ox 'my cold'; in-uk' 'my louse'; in-ab' 'my hammock'. Other examples show free variation: in/kw-ičax 'my herb'; in/kw-ik 'my chile'; in/kw-ik'oy 'my huicoy'; in/kw-o 'my avocado'; in/kw-a:nš 'my garlic'. Finally, he gives examples of recent Spanish loans which only take the consonant initial set: in-anis 'my anis'; in-o:nt 'my sling'; in-arakač 'my arracacha'; in-artal 'my altar'. I have listed only those examples with which Flora was familiar. For ease of presentation I will continue to refer to the two sets of ergative pronouns as either consonant or vowel initial. There is supportive evidence for the breakdown of the vowel initial ergative set of pronouns discussed by Campbell in the variants of these pronouns found in the conjugations of b'ox 'to sew' and a:tina 'to speak' below. One of the variants for the vowel initial ergative pronouns seems to be the compounding of the consonant initial set with the vowel initial set. Examples: Singular - 1st person: either -kw or -inkw; 3rd person: either -r or -šr; Plural - 3rd person: either -eʔr or -eʔšr.

There is also a set of personal pronouns in K'ekchi which are free morphemes responding like other major sentence constituents to changes in sentence word order. They are: Singular - 1st person: laʔin, 2nd person: laʔat, 3rd person: (h)aʔan, Plural - 1st person: laʔo:, 2nd person: laʔeš, 3rd person: (h)aʔaneb' or eb'aʔan or eb'. Haeserijn (1966) says that in the speech of old people and of the outlying villages the personal pronouns are: haʔin, haʔat, haʔan, haʔo, haʔeš, haʔaneb'. He concludes that the modern urban usage is due to the combination of the definite article li with the old form of the personal pronouns. Notice that the personal pronouns resemble the absolutive set of affixed pronouns. Only the 3rd person singular and plural personal pronouns are different from the affixed set.

The 3^{rd} person personal pronouns remain more akin to the demonstrative pronouns (haʔin 'this'; haʔan 'that') and to the locatives (arin 'here'; aran 'there'). The reduction of li+aʔ to laʔ is consistent with other cases of li reduction: li+ax Juan = lax Juan 'John'; t+in+ƺib' li+a: poʔot. = tinƺib' la: poʔot. 'I will fix your huipil.' /h/ is dropped everywhere except in initial position and is marginal word initially in any case, Flora using it only in formal or emphatic speech. Li is, in this reduction case, an unstressed word whose vowel assimilates with that of the following vowel initial pronoun or article.

What follows is the conjugation of the verb b'ox 'to sew' (a consonant initial verb) in intransitive and transitive sentences. Each of the tenses is given and variants of the tense-pronoun complex are placed in parentheses. Starred items are ungrammatical. The tenses are: present NAK; past Š; distant past KI; future TA; exhortative ČI. Each tense has six linear entries, the first three - singular 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, and 3^{rd} persons; the second three - plural 1^{st}, 2^{nd}, and 3^{rd} persons.

CONJUGATION b'ox 'to sew'

TENSE	INTRANSITIVE				TRANSITIVE			
NAK			nin	b'oxok			nin	b'ox
		(nat)	nakat	b'oxok	*na		naka:	b'ox
	*n		na:	b'oxok	*n	(na:)	naš	b'ox
		(no:)	nako:	b'oxok			naqa	b'ox
	*neʔš	(neš)	nakeš	b'oxok	*nake:	(ne:)	nake	b'ox
		(neʔ)	nakeʔ	b'oxok		(neʔš)	nakeʔš	b'ox
Š			šin	b'oxok			šin	b'ox
	*šakat		šat	b'oxok		(ša)	ša:	b'ox
	*ša:		š+Ø	b'oxok	*ša:		š+š	b'ox
	*šako:		šo:	b'oxok		(šqa)	šaqa	b'ox
	*šeʔš	*šakeš	šeš	b'oxok	*šakeʔ	(še)	še:	b'ox
	*šakeʔ		šeʔ	b'oxok	*šakeš		šeʔš	b'ox
KI			kin	b'oxok			kin	b'ox
			kat	b'oxok		(ka)	ka:	b'ox
			ki:	b'oxok			kiš	b'ox
			ko:	b'oxok	*kaqa	(qa)	kiqa	b'ox
			keš	b'oxok			ke:	b'ox
			keʔ	b'oxok			keʔš	b'ox
TA			tin	b'oxoq			tin	b'ox
			tat	b'oxoq			ta:	b'ox
			ta:	b'oxoq			tiš	b'ox
			to:	b'oxoq			taqa	b'ox
			teš	b'oxoq			te:	b'ox
			teʔ	b'oxoq			teʔš	b'ox

TENSE	INTRANSITIVE			TRANSITIVE	
ČI	čin	b'oxoq		čin	b'ox
	čat	b'oxoq		ča:	b'ox
	či:	b'oxoq		čiš	b'ox
	čo:	b'oxoq		čiqa	b'ox
	čoš	b'oxoq	(če)	če:	b'ox
	čeˀ	b'oxoq		čeˀš	b'ox

The following conjugation is that of the verb a:tina 'to talk' (a vowel initial verb). It is conjugated in an intransitive and in a transitive frame. Each of the tenses are given and variants of the tense-pronoun complex are given when they differ from the b'ox 'to sew' conjugation. The format is the same as the one above.

TENSE		INTRANSITIVE				TRANSITIVE	
NAK		nin	a:tinak		(ninkw)	nakw	a:tina
	(nat)	nakat	a:tinak			naka:kw	a:tina
		na:	a:tinak		(našr)	nar	a:tina
	(no:)	nako:	a:tinak			naq	a:tina
	(neš)	nakeš	a:tinak		(nake:šr)	nake:r	a:tina
	(neˀ)	nakeˀ	a:tinak		(nakeˀšr)	nakeˀr	a:tina
Š		šin	a:tinak		(šinkw)	škw	a:tina
		šat	a:tinak			ša:kw	a:tina
		š+0	a:tinak			šr	a:tina
		šo:	a:tinak			šq	a:tina
		šeš	a:tinak		(še:šr)	še:r	a:tina
		šeˀ	a:tinak		(šeˀšr)	šeˀr	a:tina
KI		kin	a:tinak	*kinkw		kikw	a:tina
		kat	a:tinak			ka:kw	a:tina
		ki:	a:tinak		(kišr)	kir	a:tina
		ko:	a:tinak			kiq	a:tina
		keš	a:tinak		(ke:šr)	ke:r	a:tina
		keˀ	a:tinak		(keˀšr)	keˀr	a:tina
TA		tin	a:tinak		(tinkw)	takw	a:tina
		tat	a:tinak			ta:kw	a:tina
		ta:	a:tinak		(tišr)	tar	a:tina
		to:	a:tinak			taq	a:tina
		teš	a:tinak		(te:šr)	te:r	a:tina
		teˀ	a:tinak		(teˀšr)	teˀr	a:tina
ČI		čin	a:tinak				
		čat	a:tinak				
		či:	a:tinak				
		čo:	a:tinak				
		češ	a:tinak				
		čeˀ	a:tinak				

I was unable to elicit the conjugation for transitive sentences using this verb.

Reviewing the data for verbless and genitive constructions, the conjugation of b'ox 'to sew' and a:tina 'to talk', and the personal pronouns the following generalizations can be made:

This data is, generally, consistent with Haeserijn (1966). There is some paradigm simplification to be found. In Flora's data the present tense has two sets of variants:

	Absolutive	Ergative: /___consonant
singular		
1st	n+in	n+in
2nd	nak+at/n+at	nak+a:
3rd	na+V (or in some cases na)	na+š
plural		
1st	nak+o:/n+o:	na+qa
2nd	nak+eš/n+eš	nak+e/n+e:
3rd	nak+eˀ/n+eˀ	nak+eˀš/n+eˀš

The variants indicate that there is pressure to regularize the present tense so that it matches the other tenses. Note - nat, šat, kat, tat, čat.[1]

It is interesting to note that the 1st person singular is identical in the absolutive and in the consonant initial ergative and that there is variation (-kw-/-inkw-) in the vowel initial ergative indicating a change toward simplification of the 1st person singular. This compounding of the consonant initial and the vowel initial ergative pronouns can also be found in the 3rd person singular and plural and in the 2nd person plural.

There is a difference in the way in which Flora and Haeserijn's informants handle the absolutive 1st person plural and the consonant initial ergative 2nd person singular and plural. Compare:

Absolutive - 1st person plural

	future	present	past	narrative past	exhortative
Flora:	to:	nako:	šo:	ko:	čo:
Haeserijn:	to	nako	šo	ko	čo

Consonant-initial Ergative - 2nd person singular and plural

	future	present	past	narrative past	exhortative
Flora:	ta:	naka:	ša:/ša	ka:/ka	ča:
	te:	ne:/nake	še:/še	ke:	če:/če
Haeserijn:	ta:	naka:	ša:	ka:	ča:
	te:	nake:	še:	ke:	če:

These differences do not seem to stem from paradigm regularization and I merely note them. They may be the result of the syntactic-subject marking I will discuss next.

The 3rd person plural form appears as [eb'] when followed by a vowel (eb' ax peč 'the carpenters') or when followed by a voiced consonant (eb' li išq 'the women'). It appears as [ep] before voiceless consonants (išqep čik. 'We are women now.') and in utterance final position (šlemep 'their glass'). These two observations are straightforward phonological observations which can be stated assuming underlying /eb'/ and a devoicing rule. However, the 3rd person plural always appears as [eˀ] within the verb complex in single pronoun sentences, i.e., when it is the subject of an intransitive verb. In verbless constructions and in double pronoun verbal sentences, where it is the object of a transitive verb, the 3rd person plural undergoes the above mentioned phonological rules (double pronoun examples: šeb'a:č'ax. 'You washed them.'; šepqač'ax. 'We washed them.'). Flora was very emphatic that within the verb complex in single pronoun constructions, the 3rd person plural pronoun was realized as [eˀ] regardless of the initial segment of the verb stem.

One likely explanation for /eb'/ being realized as [eˀ] within the verb complex in single pronoun sentences only is that there may be an on-going change toward morphologically marking the syntactic subject of both transitive and intransitive sentences. The interesting fact is that the absolutive is consistently realized as [eˀ] only when it is the syntactic subject of a sentence having an intransitive verb. As the object of a transitive verb or in verbless constructions, the absolutive is realized according to the assimilatory rule of phonology from underlying /eb'/.

A similar situation exists with the absolutive 3rd person singular, which is realized as vowel length, only when it is the syntactic subject of a sentence having an intransitive verb. (Notice that this happens in all tenses except the past - š - tense.) As the object of a transitive verb or in verbless constructions, the absolutive is always realized as Ø.

ABSOLUTIVE[2]	3rd PERSON SINGULAR	3rd PERSON PLURAL
subject of intransitive sentence i.e., single pronoun sentence.	-V-	[eˀ]
verbless constructions, object of transitive sentence in double pronoun sentence.	-Ø-	$/eb'/ \rightarrow [ep] /\_\_\_ \begin{matrix} \overset{C}{[-\text{voice}]} \\ \# \end{matrix}$

This morphological change is reasonable, given that K'ekchi seems to be a syntactically nominative-accusative language. Syntactic processes like Equi-NP deletion affect subjects of both transitive and intransitive sentences not absolutives as can be seen in the Dixon(1972) data for Dyirbal, an Australian aboriginal language. That subjects not absolutives are affected by Equi-NP deletion in K'ekchi is most clearly seen in sentences having verbal nouns.

Examples:

(7)	t-	inkw-	ax	Ø	a:tina-	k
	future	erg-I	want	deleted abs-I	talk	abs-marker

'I want to talk.'

(8)[3]	t-	inkw-	ax	a:kw-	Ø	a:tinan-	kil
	future	erg-I	want	erg-you (object)	deleted erg-I	talk	ing-nominalizer

'I want to talk to you.'

(9)	t-	inkw-	ax	t-	in-	a:kw-	a:tina
	future	erg-I	want	future	abs-me (object)	erg-you	talk

'I want you to talk to me.'

(9')	* t-	inkw-	ax	t	Ø	a:kw-	a:tina
	future	erg-I	want	future	deleted abs-me (object)	erg-you	talk

These sentences show that subjects in the lower sentence are deleted, not absolutives. In sentences (7) and (8) a higher subject deletes a lower absolutive and a lower ergative subject. Sentence (9) and (9') show that Equi does not delete a lower absolutive when it is an object. This Equi data is one piece of evidence that K'ekchi may be syntactically a nominative-accusative language whose present - ergative - morphology is tending to obscure its syntax at first glance. The two variants of the absolutive (in the 3rd person singular and plural) seem to be a change toward a nominative-accusative morphology which would be more in line with a nominative-accusative syntax.

It is interesting that the principal contact language for K'ekchi speakers is Spanish, also syntactically a nominative-accusative language whose morphology highlights its syntax. There is a high degree of bilingualism in the Coban area, although it is not total. More important here, Flora, the informant for this pronoun data, is a bilingual who uses Spanish a great deal. The pressure of areal contact, the nature of K'ekchi and the bilingualism of the K'ekchi speakers suggest the possible motivation and the mechanism by which the morphological change is taking place.

The table below recapitulates the place the absolutive and the ergative sets of pronouns have in a grammar of K'ekchi:

ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE
a) single and double pronoun sentences 1. subject of intransitive sentence, 2. object of transitive sentence,	a) double pronoun sentences 1. subject of transitive sentence,
b) verbless constructions (see Bacon-Clause Structure, this vol.)	b) genitive (see Stone-Possession, this volume)
c) personal pronouns	c) oblique cases (see Stone)
	d) verbal nouns (see Freund-Morphology, this volume)

I posit the following underlying forms for the sets of absolutive and consonant and vowel initial ergative pronoun affixes:

Person	Absolutive	Ergative: /___consonant	/___vowel
singular			
1st	-in-	-in-	-kw-/-inkw-
2nd	-at-	-a:-/a (clarified above)	-a:kw-
3rd	-Ø- (verbless const. and in past tense) -V- elsewhere	-š-	-r-/-šr-
plural			
1st	-o:-	-qa-	-q-
2nd	-eš-	-e:-/e (clarified above)	-e:r-/-e:šr-
3rd	-eˀ- (in single pro const. only) -eb'- elsewhere	(š)eˀ	(r)eˀ/ -eˀšr

The data which follow show the possible morpheme order for subject and object pronoun affixes in transitive sentences. There are four columns of data. The first column contains the gloss for each line of data. The order of affixed morphemes does not seem to change the meaning of the utterance, therefore, the gloss is the same for each of the three entries across a line. Each of the three columns to the right of the gloss list the affixed morphemes (tense, subject, object) and the verb in a certain order. The variation Flora exhibited during elicitation is given. The page, then, reads as follows:

GLOSS	tns-obj-subj-vb	tns-subj-vb-obj	tns-obj-subj-vb-obj
I washed you.	šatinč'ax	šinč'axat	šatinč'axat
I washed you (pl.).	šešinč'ax	šinč'axeš	šešinč'axeš
I washed them.	šeb'inč'ax	šinč'axep	šeb'inč'axep
You washed me.	šina:č'ax	ša:č'axin	šina:č'axin
You washed us.	šo:a:č'ax	ša:č'axo:	šo:a:č'axo:
You washed them.	šeb'a:č'ax	ša:č'axep	šeb'a:č'axep
He/she washed me.	šinišč'ax	šč'axin	šinišč'axin
He/she washed you.	šatišč'ax (šatč'ax)	šč'axat	šatišč'axat
He/she washed us.	šo:šč'ax (*šo:išč'ax)	šč'axo:	šo:šč'axo:
He/she washed you (pl.).	šešč'ax	šč'axeš	šešč'axeš
He/she washed them.	*šeˀšč'ax (*šepšč'ax)	šč'axep	*šeˀšč'axep (*šepšč'axep)
We washed you.	šatqač'ax	šaqač'axat (šqač'axat)	šatqač'axat
We washed you (pl.).	šešqač'ax	šaqač'axeš (šqač'axeš)	šešqač'axeš
We washed them.	šepqač'ax	šaqač'axep	šepqač'axep
You (pl.) washed me.	šine:č'ax	še:č'axin	šine:č'axin
You (pl.) washed us.	šo:e:č'ax	še:č'axo:	šo:e:č'axo:
You washed them.	šeb'e:č'ax	še:č'axep	šeb'e:č'axep
They washed me.	šineˀšč'ax	*šeˀšč'ax in	*šineˀšč'axin
They washed you.	šateˀšč'ax	šeˀšč'axat	šateˀč'axat
They washed us.	šo:eˀšč'ax	šeˀšč'axo:	šo:eˀšč'axo:
They washed you (pl.).	*šešeˀšč'ax (*šešepšč'ax)	šeˀšč'axeš (*šepšč'axeš)	*šešeˀšč'axeš (*šešepšč'axeš)

Flora seemed to have difficulty processing absolutive 3^{rd} person plural pronouns when they were compounded with ergative 3^{rd} person singular pronouns (note: 'He/she washed them.'). She also had difficulty processing absolutive 2^{nd} person plural pronouns when these were compounded with ergative 3^{rd} person plural pronouns (note: 'They washed you (pl.).'). Compounding absolutive 3^{rd} person singular pronouns with ergative 3^{rd} person plural pronouns presents a problem of recovering underlying meaning because [šeˀšč'ax] may be interpreted as /š+Ø+eˀš+č'ax/ 'They washed it.' or as /š+eˀ+š+č'ax/ 'He/she washed them.'. Similarly, compounding absolutive 2^{nd} person plural pronouns with ergative 3^{rd} person plural pronouns presents a problem of recoverability of meaning because [šešeˀšč'ax] may be interpreted as */š+eš+eˀ+š+č'ax/ or as /š+eš+eˀš+č'ax/ 'They washed you.'. Because these two cases are so similar, I think she rejects them both even though in the last case given, the three-pronoun ungrammatical form, she should have no difficulty. I cannot, however, explain her rejection of the 'They washed me.' forms which she seems to be rejecting because of the suffixed absolutive.

Flora's data for the genitive, oblique cases, verbal nouns, and double pronoun sentences show that an ergative pronoun is always prefixed to the major constituent to which it is related.

Genitive: (10) qa- lem
our glass

Oblique cases: (11) Laˀin, tink'e li hu re li kwiːnq.
I will give the book dative the man.

Transitive sentences- (double pronoun sentences) (12) šineˀšč'ax.
'They washed me.'

The affixing position of the absolutive pronouns is not as clear. Marlys Bacon has told me that Mayan languages can be roughly divided into three groups whose geographical location correlates with the prefixing or suffixing of the absolutive pronouns to the verb. The lowland languages suffix the absolutive pronouns to the verb and the highland languages prefix them to the verb. There are also a group of "buffer zone" languages which both prefix and suffix the absolutive pronouns to the verb. K'ekchi seems to fall into the "buffer zone" group.

Recall Flora's variable affixing in double pronoun sentences. In these sentences, an absolutive pronoun may be suffixed or prefixed to the verb, or, redundantly suffixed and prefixed to the verb.

Absolutive Pronoun

suffixed	prefixed	redundantly affixed
š- qa- č'ax -at.	š- at- qa- č'ax.	š- at- qa- č'ax -at.
tns erg-we wash abs-you.	tns abs-you erg-we wash.	tns abs-you erg-we wash abs-you.

'We washed you.'

These seem to be grammatically optional, although there may be sociolinguistic correlates. One possible explanation for the variation in position of the absolutive pronoun might be that the tense affixes are 'heavy' or 'strong' affixes within the morphological hierarchy of stems and affixes. As a result, there may be pronoun affix movement on the order of tense attraction which pulls absolutive pronouns suffixed to the verb and suffixes them to the tense marker.

Based on considerations of simplicity in expressing morphological generalizations, Bob Freund has also speculated that perhaps the verb complex is composed of two major components: the tense marker(t-, n-, š-, k-, č-) and the verb stem. Perhaps within the verb complex these tense markers have the weight of auxiliaries. One could then say that ergative pronouns are prefixed to the verb and that absolutive pronouns are suffixed to the tense marker (auxiliary) or to the verb. In any case, absolutives are suffixed to a major verb-complex component.

The double pronoun data and Robert Stone's data on the stative verb kwaːn 'to be' offer support to Freund's speculation. Stone (this volume) discusses the K'ekchi verb kwaːn and observes that the absolutive is prefixed to the verb at times and suffixed to the verb at other times.

Examples:

prefixed to verb				suffixed to verb		
t-	at-	kwa:nq	(kulax)	kwa:nq	-at	kulax
future	abs-you	be	tomorrow	be	abs-you	tomorrow

'You will be (tomorrow).'

The affixation seems to depend on the use of the tense affixes. If the general aspect suffix (-k present/past; -q future) is used with adverbials specifying the time, then the absolutive pronoun is suffixed to the verb. (kwa:nq -at kulax 'You will be...tomorrow.') However, if the general aspect suffix is accompanied by the tense affixes to specify exact time, then the absolutive pronoun seems to be prefixed to the verb. (t- at kwa:nq (kulax). 'You will be...(tomorrow).'). Notice that the absolutive pronouns cannot be prefixed to kwa:nk in the present tense. (See Stone, this volume.) There is no adequate present tense for a stative verb like kwa:nk, the available present tense being NAK which is the present habitual.

A review of the lowland "suffixing" languages and of the highland "prefixing" languages might provide an understanding of the qualities that make the tense markers different from other affixes in the verb complex. In particular, such a study might focus on the relationship between tense markers and stative and intransitive verbs.

The rest of this paper reviews aspects of word order in K'ekchi and, in particular, explores a focus shift in which word order interacts with the ergative system.

Haeserijn (1966) says that the normal word order in K'ekchi is as follows:

(13)	ekwer	š-	Ø-	š-	k'e	re	eb'	š-	kok'ap	lax Juan
	yesterday	pst	abs-it	erg-he	give	dative	plural	erg-his	candy	John

'Juan gave his candy to them yesterday.'

Our work with Flora is consistent with this example, although we did not investigate the relationship of datives to other constituents. The word order for K'ekchi seems to be Verb-Object-Subject (VOS). This word order, while rarely seen in the languages of the world is consistent with that of the Mayan language family. However, many Mayan languages exhibit scrambling and K'ekchi is no exception. This scrambling or free movement of constituents seems to be constrained in K'ekchi by the specificity of subjects and the animacy of objects. The data which follow suggest the constraints within which Flora can prepose subjects and objects. I will also refer to preposing as topicalization. What I mean by preposing or topicalization is the placement of a subject or object which normally follows the verb into a position before the verb - usually at the beginning of the sentence. I will use the following abbreviations: subject - S; verb - V; object - O.

normal word order	preposed subject or object order
VOS	S,VO or S,O,V
	O,VS or O,S,V

ANIMACY

subject-human; object-inanimate

(14) štiqkwasi li kwa li išq (VOS)
(15) štiqkwasi li išq li kwa (VSO)
(16) li išq štiqkwasi li kwa (S,VO)
(17) li kwa štiqkwasi li išq (O,VS)
(18) li išq li kwa štiqkwasi (S,O,V)
(19) li kwa li išq štiqkwasi (O,S,V)

'The woman heated the tortilla.'

Sentences (14) through (19) have the same meaning, i.e., the agent is always the woman and in each case she heated the tortilla. However, the focus of each sentence is different. This will be discussed below.

subject-animate; object-inanimate

(20) škwaˀ li kwa li c'iˀ (VOS)
(21) škwaˀ li c'iˀ li kwa (VSO)
(22) li c'iˀ škwaˀ li kwa (S,VO)
(23) li kwa škwaˀ li c'iˀ (O,VS)
(24) li c'iˀ li kwa škwaˀ (S,O,V)
(25) li kwa, li c'iˀ škwaˀ (O,S,V)

'The dog ate the tortilla.'

Sentences (20) through (25) have the same meaning, i.e., the agent is always the dog and in each case it ate the tortilla. However, the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-inanimate; object-inanimate

(26) št'an li čeˀ li ˀiq' (VOS)
(27) št'an li ˀiq' li čeˀ (VSO)
(28) li ˀiq' št'an li čeˀ (S,VO)
(29) li čeˀ št'an li ˀiq' (O,VS)
(30) li ˀiq' li čeˀ št'an (S,O,V)
(31) li čeˀ li ˀiq' št'an (O,S,V)

'The wind blew down the tree.'

Sentences (26) through (31) have the same meaning, however, the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-human; object-human

(32) šsak' li kwi:nq li išq (VOS)
(33) šsak' li išq li kwi:nq (VSO)
(34) li išq šsak' li kwi:nq (S,VO)
(35) ?li kwi:nq šsak' li išq ?(O,VS)
(36) li išq li kwi:nq šsak' (S,O,V)
(37) *li kwi:nq li išq šsak' *(O,S,V)

'The woman hit the man'

Sentences (35) and (37) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, however, the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-human; object-animate

(38) šsak' li c'iˀ li kwi:nq (VOS)
(39) šsak' li kwi:nq li c'iˀ (VSO)
(40) li kwi:nq šsak' li c'iˀ (S,VO)
(41) ?li c'iˀ šsak' li kwi:nq ?(O,VS)
(42) li kwi:nq li c'iˀ šsak' (S,O,V)
(43) *li c'iˀ li kwi:nq šsak' *(O,S,V)

'The man hit the dog.'

Sentences (41) and (43) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, however, the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-animate; object-human

(44) štiw li kwi:nq li c'iʔ (VOS)
(45) štiw li c'iʔ li kwi:nq (VSO)
(46) li c'iʔ štiw li kwi:nq (S,VO)
(47) ?li kwi:nq štiw li c'iʔ ?(O,VS)
(48) li c'iʔ li kwi:nq štiw (S,O,V)
(49) *li kwi:nq li c'iʔ štiw *(O,S,V)

'The dog bit the man.'

Sentences (47) and (49) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, however, the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-animate; object-animate

(50) škop li c'iʔ li kašlan (VOS)
(51) škop li kašlan li c'iʔ (VSO)
(52) li kašlan škop li c'iʔ (S,VO)
(53) ?li c'iʔ škop li kašlan ?(O,VS)
(54) li kašlan li c'iʔ škop (S,O,V)
(55) *li c'iʔ li kašlan škop *(O,S,V)

'The chicken pecked at the dog.'

Sentences (53) and (55) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, however, the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-inanimate; object-human

(56) špic' li kwi:nq li ka:r (VOS)
(57) *špic' li ka:r li kwi:nq *(VSO)
(58) li ka:r špic' li kwi:nq (S,VO)
(59) *li kwi:nq špic' li ka:r *(O,VS)
(60) li ka:r li kwi:nq špic' (S,O,V)
(61) *li kwi:nq li ka:r špic' *(O,S,V)

'The car squashed the man.'

Sentences (57), (59) and (61) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, however, the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-inanimate; object-animate

(62) špic' li c'iʔ li čeʔ (VOS)
(63) *špic' li čeʔ li c'iʔ *(VSO)
(64) li če? špic' li c'iʔ (S,VO)
(65) *li c'iʔ špic' li čeʔ *(O,VS)
(66) li čeʔ li c'iʔ špic' (S,O,V)
(67) *li c'iʔ li čeʔ špic' *(O,S,V)

'The tree squashed the dog.'

Sentences (63), (65) and (67) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, however, the focus of each sentence is different.

The results are summarized in the following table:

ANIMACY

group	subject	observation	object	sentence group
A	human	All orders possible-one meaning all sentences-focus different each sentence.	inanimate	14-19
	animate		inanimate	20-26
	inanimate		inanimate	27-31
B	human	a) *object topicalization (O,VS; O,S,V) b) VOS, VSO and subject topicalization possible-one meaning all sentences-focus different each sentence.	human	32-37
	human		animate	38-43
	animate		human	44-49
	animate		animate	50-55
C	inanimate	a) *object topicalization (O,SV; O,S,V) *VSO b) VOS and subject topicalization possible-one meaning all sentences-focus different each sentence.	human	56-61
	inanimate		animate	62-67

When the object is inanimate, there is scrambling. The word order is the most free. When the subject is inanimate and the object is animate, the possible word order is restricted to VOS. There is also what I call subject topicalization. Both S,VO and S,O,V are subject topicalization because in the S,O,V case the object does not appear at the beginning of the sentence. Similarly, O,VS and O,S,V are object topicalization because in the O,S,V case the subject does not appear at the beginning of the sentence. The difference between these preposed orders will be discussed more fully below. The intermediate case consists of combinations of subject-object animacy which allow VOS, VSO and subject topicalization. These data are consistent with the idea that K'ekchi is a VOS language. They show that object animacy constrains scrambling.

Using bi-directional verbs like a:lina 'to chase', the results for the sentences found in Section B in the table above are modified.

subject-human; object-animate or subject-animate; object-human

(68) šra:lina li c'iʔ li kwi:nq 'The man chased the dog.'
'The dog chased the man.'

(69) šra:lina li kwi:nq li c'iʔ 'The dog chased the man.'
'The man chased the dog.'

(70) li c'iʔ šra:lina li kwi:nq (S,VO)
(71) li c'iʔ li kwi:nq šra:lina (S,O,V) 'The dog chased the man.'

(72) li kwi:nq šra:lina li c'iʔ (S,VO)
(73) li kwi:nq li c'iʔ šra:lina (S,O,V) 'The man chased the dog.'

subject-human; object-human

(74) šra:lina li kwi:nq li išq 'The woman chased the man.'
'The man chased the woman.'

(75) šra:lina li išq li kwi:nq 'The man chased the woman.'
'The woman chased the man.'

(76) li kwi:nq šra:lina li išq (S,VO)
(77) li kwi:nq li išq šra:lina (S,V,O) 'The man chased the woman.'

(78) li išq šra:lina li kwi:nq (S,VO)
(79) li išq li kwi:nq šra:lina (S,O,V)
'The woman chased the man.'

subject-animate; object-animate

(80) šra:lina li kwakaš li c'iʔ
'The dog chased the cow.'
'The cow chased the dog.'

(81) šra:lina li c'iʔ li kwakaš
'The cow chased the dog.'
'The dog chased the cow.'

(82) li c'iʔ šra:lina li kwakaš (S,VO)
(83) li c'iʔ li kwakaš šra:lina (S,O,V)
'The dog chased the cow.'

(84) li kwakaš šra:lina li c'iʔ (S,VO)
(85) li kwakaš li c'iʔ šra:lina (S,O,V)
'The cow chased the dog.'

These sentences show that VOS/VSO word orders are ambiguous; they fall together. Only subject topicalization is possible.

group	subject	observation	object	sentence group
B'	human	a) *object topicalization	animate	68-73
	animate	b) VOS/VSO ambiguous-two	human	
	human	meanings for each word	human	74-79
	animate	order-subject topicalization possible-focus different in each sentence.	animate	80-85

SPECIFICITY

subject-specific; object-non-specific

(86) šsak' xun c'iʔ li kwi:nq (VOS)
(87) šsak' li kwi:nq xun c'iʔ (VSO)
(88) li kwi:nq šsak' xun c'iʔ (S,VO)
(89) *xun c'iʔ šsak' li kwi:nq *(O,VS)
(90) li kwi:nq xun c'iʔ šsak' (S,O,V)
(91) *xun c'iʔ li kwi:nq šsak' *(O,S,V)
'The man hit a dog.'

Sentences (89) and (91) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, i.e., the agent is always the man and in each case he hit a dog. However, the focus of each sentence is different. This will be discussed below.

subject-specific; object-specific

(92) šsak' li c'iʔ li kwi:nq (VOS)
(93) šsak' li kwi:nq li c'iʔ (VSO)
(94) li kwi:nq šsak' li c'iʔ (S,VO)
(95) *li c'iʔ šsak' li kwi:nq *(O,VS)
(96) li kwi:nq li c'iʔ šsak' (S,O,V)
(97) *li c'iʔ li kwi:nq šsak' *(O,S,V)
'The man hit the dog.'

Sentences (95) and (97) are ungrammatical. All of the other sentences in this group are grammatical and have the same meaning, although the focus of each sentence is different.

subject-non-specific; object-non-specific

(98) ?šsak' xun c'iˀ xun kwi:nq ?(VOS)
(99) *šsak' xun kwi:nq xun c'iˀ *(VSO)
(100) ?xun kwi:nq šsak' xun c'iˀ ?(S,VO)
(101) *xun c'iˀ šsak' xun kwi:nq *(O,VS)
(102) ?xun kwi:nq xun c'iˀ šsak' ?(S,O,V)
(103) *xun c'iˀ xun kwi:nq šsak' *(O,S,V)

All of these sentences are ungrammatical. I intended to elicit the meaning 'A man hit a dog.' The VSO and object topicalization sentences seemed more ungrammatical to Flora than the VOS and subject topicalization sentences.

subject-non-specific; object-specific

(104) ?šsak' li c'iˀ xun kwi:nq ?(VOS)
(105) *šsak' xun kwi:nq li c'iˀ *(VSO)
(106) ?xun kwi:nq šsak' li c'iˀ ?(S,VO)
(107) *li c'iˀ šsak' li kwi:nq *(O,VS)
(108) ?xun kwi:nq li c'iˀ šsak' ?(S,O,V)
(109) *li c'iˀ xun kwi:nq šsak' *(O,S,V)

All of these sentences are ungrammatical. I intended to elicit the meaning 'A man hit the dog.' The VSO and object topicalization sentences seemed more ungrammatical to Flora than the VOS and subject topicalization sentences.

The data are summarized in the table below. To avoid repetition, a summary of the data for the Focus Shift Rule are included here, but they are not relevant to the present discussion.

SPECIFICITY

group	Focus Shift Rule	subject	observation	object	sentence group
A	may not apply optional	specific specific	a) *object topicalization (O,VS; O,S,V) b) VOS, VSO, and subject topicalization possible-one meaning all sentences-focus different each sentence.	non-specific specific	86-91 92-97
B	obligatory	non-specific non-specific	no word order possible-*VSO and object topicalization-?VOS and subject topicalization.	non-specific specific	98-103 104-109

Subject specificity allows greater freedom of word order (VOS; VSO; S,VO; S,O,V). This freedom is extended when the subject is animate and the object is inanimate (O,VS; O,S,V).

(110) xun kwa štiqkwasi li išq 'The woman heated a tortilla.'
(111) xun kwa li išq štiqkwasi

Subject non-specificity restricts the possible word order. In fact, at first glance, it would seem that no sentence having a non-specific subject can be expressed in K'ekchi. However, if the subject is topicalized (preposed), the direct object marked as an oblique case, the verb marked transitive-absolutive and the pronouns used are of the absolutive set, then sentences having non-specific subjects can be expressed. This process, which

Haeserijn (1966) calls 'Conjugacion Mixta', I will call the Focus Shift Rule.

Example:

(98) ?šsak' xun c'iˀ xun kwi:nq →	xun kwi:nq	š-	Ø-	sak'	-ok	re xun c'iˀ
	preposed subject	tns	he-subject	hit	transitive-absolutive	oblique object

'A man hit a dog.'

In addition to expressing sentences having non-specific subjects, this new structure permits the objects to be topicalized as will be seen below.

The data below show that (a) sentences having non-specific subjects may be expressed by having the focus shift rule apply to them obligatorily; (b) the subject must be topicalized (preposed) for these focus-shift sentences to be grammatical; (c) the object may be topicalized (recall: it is an oblique object); (d) sentences having specific subjects may undergo the focus shift rule optionally, extending the possible cases of object topicalization; and (e) sentences having specific subjects and non-specific objects may not undergo the focus shift rule. Interestingly, these last sentences have the broadest range of word order - VOS; VSO; S,VO; O,VS; S,OV; O,S,V.

(a) obligatory application of the focus shift rule

The ungrammatical sentences (98), (99), (100), and (102) can be expressed grammatically as in (98) above. Similarly, the ungrammatical sentences (104), (105), and (106), and (108) can be expressed grammatically as:

(112) xun kwi:nq	š-	Ø-	sak'	-ok	re	li c'iˀ
preposed subject	tns	he-subject	hit	transitive-abs marker	oblique	object

'A man hit the dog.'

(b) obligatory subject topicalization (preposing) in conjunction with the oblique marking of the direct object, the transitive-absolutive marking of the verb, and the use of absolutive pronouns in the focus shift rule.

(104) ? šsak' li c'iˀ xun kwi:nq
(112) xun kwi:nq šsak'ok re li c'iˀ 'A man hit the dog.'
(113) * šsak'ok re li c'iˀ xun kwi:nq

(114) šsak' li c'iˀ 'He hit the dog.'
(115) aˀan šsak'ok re li c'iˀ 'He hit the dog.'
(116) * šsak'ok re li c'i (aˀan)

The personal pronouns are, normally, only needed when no previous referent has been stated (šsak' li c'iˀ li kwi:nq. šsak' li mes. 'The man hit the dog. He hit the cat.' versus aˀan šsak' li kwakaš. 'She hit the cow.') However, in cases where the focus shift rule has applied, the personal pronoun is evident.

(c) object topicalization permitted after focus shift rule

(98) xun kwi:nq šsak'ok re xun c'iˀ 'A man hit a dog.'
(117) xun c'iˀ xun kwi:nq šsak'ok re 'A man hit a dog.'

(11 xun kwi:nq šsak'ok re li c'iˀ 'A man hit the dog.'
(118) li c'iˀ xun kwi:nq šsak'ok re 'A man hit the dog.'

(d) optional application of the focus shift rule to sentences having specific subjects and specific objects

(92) šsak' li c'iʔ li kwi:nq 'The man hit the dog.'
(119) li kwi:nq šsak'ok re li c'iʔ 'The man hit the dog.'

(14) štiqkwasi li kwa li išq 'The woman heated the tortilla.'
(120) li išq štiqkwasin re li kwa 'The woman heated the tortilla.'

(e) inapplicability of the focus shift rule to sentences having specific subjects and non-specific objects

(121) šloq' xun b'as li išq 'The woman bought a glass.'
(122) *li išq šloq'ok re xun b'as

(123) štiqkwasi xun kwa li išq 'The woman heated a tortilla.'
(124) *li išq štiqkwasin re xun kwa

I have used the term topicalization to mean preposing and have claimed that topicalization and the focus shift rule, which requires subject preposing, affect the focus of the sentence. Flora's intuition is that in a conversation with a person who is hard of hearing, who wants to know 'who hit the dog', the first appropriate reply is:

šsak' li c'iʔ li kwi:nq 'The man hit the dog.'

The next repetition of the information not heard would be:

li kwi:nq šsak' li c'iʔ 'The man hit the dog.'

The final and most emphatic repetition of the information would be:

li kwi:nq šsak'ok re li c'iʔ 'The man hit the dog.'

It seems that the strategy of shifting the focus in a way which would highlight the agent and de-emphasize the object can be accomplished by topicalizing (preposing) the subject and using the ergative system to mark the object as less significant than the subject.

What follows is a summary of the possible word orders and their relationship to focus/emphasis within a sentence.

TOPICALIZATION (subject and object preposing) - focus shift rule

word order	focus/emphasis
S,VO	'The man hit the dog.'
S,O,V	'The man hit the dog.'
O,VS	'The man hit the dog.'
O,S,V	'The man hit the dog.'
S,V Oblique Object (by focus shift rule)	'The man hit the dog.'
Oblique object, S,V (by object topicalization)	'The man hit the dog.'

Freeze (1970) investigated the 'Conjugacion Mixta'. Given his data, it does not seem necessary to topicalize the subject although he does conclude that the emphasis of the sentence is different from the normal VOS word order. He does not discuss the constraints of specificity and animacy on word order nor their relation to the 'Conjugacion Mixta', but, perhaps, these constraints are used differently by his informants, who are from Chamelco. What he and I do agree about is that focus shifting or, as he calls it, 'emphasis' is the effect of the 'Conjugacion Mixta'. From Flora's data, it would seem that the specificity of some NPs and the animacy of others help recover grammatical relations which might be lost due to scrambling. Additionally, there is a relationship between the specificity of subjects and topicalization and the ergative system which allows speakers of K'ekchi to focus on one or more noun phrases. This relationship allows a hierarchy of focus in the language.

In this paper, I have presented data on the pronoun system in K'ekchi and have attributed Flora's variation during elicitation, primarily, to an on-going shift from an absolutive-ergative morphology to a nominative-accusative one which begins to coincide with the underlying syntax of K'ekchi - which I tentatively think is nominative-accusative. I have discussed the affixing position of the absolutive pronouns and have suggested several reasons to think that the absolutive pronouns are always suffixed to major constituents. (Additionally, I have proposed a comparative study of the tense affixes in Mayan to check their status as auxiliaries within the verb complex.) I have also investigated sentential word order in K'ekchi, finding VOS the basic word order, and specificity and animacy two factors constraining scrambling. Focus shifting by topicalization and the Focus Shift Rule have been investigated as well. I have found that the specificity of the subject is a motivating factor for the Focus Shift Rule. There is also a hierarchy of focus shifting which starts with the basic word order (VOS), preposes either subject or object or both (S,VO; O,VS; S,OV; O,SV) and finds its final expression the result of the Focus Shift Rule (S,V re O).

Footnotes

[1] See Freund 'Morphology' in this volume for vowel harmony in the NAK tense.

[2] The text 'Li K'alek, Li A:wk, ut Li Q'olok' in this volume does not seem to exhibit this absolutive 3rd person singular and plural variation. Syntactic subjects of intransitive sentences do not seem to be marked differently from objects of transitive sentences. It is not clear whether phonetic factors such as stress, intervocalic glottalized consonants, final position-in-utterance, etc., are over-riding the lengthening due to syntax, or, whether the narrative impersonal speech style used by Flora in the text excludes marking syntactic subjects of intransitive sentences differently from syntactic objects of transitive sentences.

[3] The question these examples address is: What does Equi do to subjects and/or objects in K'ekchi? The deleted element (subject of a transitive sentence) in (8) is shown in the surface sentence example as a null symbol (Ø) and should not be confused with a pronoun affix which is written with a hyphen after it (š- Ø- kwa?ak 'He ate.'). Examples (7), (8), (9), and (9'), while they are surface forms with the appropriately case-marked and positioned pronoun morphemes, are used to illustrate the effects of a syntactic process (Equi) on the underlying sentence constituents and the resultant surface structure.

Verbal nouns go through additional derivation, the result of which is that their surface form is like that of genitive constructions so that the ergative pronouns are used as prefixes. In example (8), the underlying string is: $_{S}[\text{tense} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{I} \quad _{NP}[\text{tense} \quad \text{talk} \quad \text{you} \quad \text{I}]_{NP}]_{S}$. In the higher sentence, *I* is the subject of a transitive verb having a sentential object. In the lower sentence, *I* is the subject of a transitive verb and *you* is the object of that verb. *If* all of these elements were to appear in surface structure appropriately case-marked and positioned they would appear as follows:

t-	inkw-	ax	t-	at-	kw-	a:tina
tense	erg-I	want	tense	abs-you	erg-I	talk

'I want to talk to you.'

In fact, the surface string just given is ungrammatical. Instead Equi-NP Deletion deletes the underlying lower-sentence-subject leaving (talk-you) as a Noun Phrase of the higher sentence which can then be nominalized into a genitive-like construction requiring an *ergative* pronoun prefix. The result is:

t-	inkw-	ax	a:kw-	a:tina	-n	-kil
tense	erg-I	want	abs-you	talk		ing-nominalizer

'I want to talk to you.'

The fact that verbal nouns go through additional derivation where their underlying objects are case-marked by ergative pronouns because their surface form is like that of genitive constructions should not distract from the present syntactic discussion. For more about verbal nouns, see Freund 'Morphology' and for more about genitive constructions, see Stone 'Possession', this volume.

[4] The Equi data found here is consistent with the idea that K'ekchi is, underlyingly, a nominative-accusative language. However, I am aware that what I offer is a pitifully small piece of evidence and should be supplemented with many other instances in which Equi applies. Furthermore, other deletion processes and movement processes should be used to get a profile of K'ekchi which can more accurately classify it as an absolutive/ergative language or as a nominative/accusative one. At this point, no definitive statement can be made.

K'EKCHI kwa:nk, THE GENITIVE, AND OBLIQUE CASES

Robert Stone

This paper presents data for the K'ekchi verb kwan the genitive, oblique cases and two prepositions. It also discusses the structures used to indicate the difference between possession and ownership. It is assumed that the reader is already familiar with K'ekchi morphology and, in particular, with the ergative system of pronoun affixes.

Kwan 'to be' is a stative verb which takes the absolutive set of pronouns affixed to the verb. When there are no tense markers, the pronouns are suffixed to the verb and adverbial particles or phrases are used to indicate the specific time. No adverbial is used for the present tense. When there are tense markers, these indicate the time and the pronouns appear prefixed to the verb. There is no appropriate tense marker for the present tense (NAK-present habitual). As a result of the lack of tense markers for the present tense, there is no prefixed pronoun conjugation of kwan in the present tense. Below are the suffixed and prefixed conjugations of kwan.

kwan, 'to be' (affixed - absolutive pronouns)

	Person		Suffixed			Prefixed
Present	Singular	1	kwan-k-in		I am	∅
		2	kwan-k-at		you are	∅
		3	kwan-∅		he,she,it is	∅
	Plural	1	kwan-k-o:		we are	∅
		2	kwan-k-eš		you are	∅
		3	kwan-k-eb'		they are	∅
Past	Singular	1	kwan-k-in	+ adverb	I was	š-in-kwan
		2	kwan-k-at		you were	š-at-kwan
		3	kwan-∅		he,she,it was	š-∅-kwan
	Plural	1	kwan-k-o:		we were	š-o:-kwan
		2	kwan-k-eš		you were	š-es-kwan
		3	kwan-k-eb'		they were	š-eʔ-kwan
Distant Past	Singular	1	kwan-k-in	+ adverb	I was	[illegible]wan
		2	kwan-k-at		you were	k-at-k[illegible]n
		3	kwan-∅		he,she,it was	ki-V-kw[illegible]
	Plural	1	kwan-k-o:		we were	k-o:-kwan
		2	kwan-k-eš		you were	k-eš-kwan
		3	kwan-k-eb'		they were	k-eʔ-kwan
Future	Singular	1	kwan-q-in-q	+ adverb	I shall	t-in-kwa:n-q
		2	kwan-q-at		you will	t-at-kwa:n-q
		3	kwan-q-∅		he,she,it will	ta-V-kwa:n-q
	Plural	1	kwan-q-o:q		we shall	t-o:-kwa:n-q
		2	kwan-q-eš		you will	t-eš-kwa:n-q
		3	kwan-q-eb'		they will	t-eʔ-kwa:n-q

	Person		Suffixed		Prefixed
Exhortatory	Singular	1	(These forms were difficult to elicit)	that I be	č-in-kwa:n-q
		2		that you be	č-at-kwa:n-q
		3		that he be	či-V-kwa:n-q
	Plural	1		that we be	č-o:-kwa:n-q
		2		that you be	č-e:š-kwa:n-q
		3		that they be	č-e:?-kwa:n-q

Perhaps the closest approximation of the meaning of the K'ekchi verb kwan is the English verb 'to exist.' Kwank-in means 'exist-I' or 'I am,' and kwa:nk li kwi:nq means 'exists-the man' or 'the man is.' These are existential sentences. The verb kwan does not include a copular or equational meaning. Equational sentences in K'ekchi are verbless - for example: kwinq-at 'You are a man.'

Kwan may also be found in sentences having genitive constructions. A genitive construction has the form Ergative Pronoun-Noun, for example - in-mes 'my cat.' This may also mean 'it is my cat.' since the underlying form for the equational sentence would be - $_S[_V[\emptyset]_V \ _{NP}[\text{in-mes}]_{NP_{object}} \ _{NP}[\emptyset]_{NP_{subject}}]_S$.

When kwan is the predicate for a sentence having a genitive construction, as in kwa:nk in-mes, it means 'exists my cat' or 'I own a cat.'. The difference between existential sentences (those having kwan) which have genitive constructions in them and existential sentences which do not have genitive constructions in them seems to be related to the number of semantic arguments in each type of sentence. Existential sentences having a genitive construction have two arguments, i.e., in kwa:nk in-mes the affixed I and mes 'cat' are the arguments; kwa:nk is the predicate. Existential sentences which do not have a genitive construction have only one argument, i.e., in kwa:nk li mes li mes 'the cat' is the only argument; again, kwa:nk is the predicate. Below are example sentences with kwan.

(1)	kwan	-Ø	l-	in-	hu
	exists	it-subject	the	my-genitive	book

'I own the book.'

(2)	kwan	-Ø	xun	in-	hu
	exists	it-subject	one	my-genitive	book

'I own a book.'

(3)	kwan	-Ø	kw-ik'in	li	hu
	exists	it-subject	with-me	the	book

'The book is with me.'

(4)	li	hu	kwan	-Ø	r-ik'in	li	kwi:nq
	the	book	exists	it-subject	with-him	the	man

'The book is with the man.'

(5)	kwan	-Ø	a:kw-ik'in	l-	in-	hu
	exists	it-subject	with-you	the	my-genitive	book

'My book is with you.'

(6)	kwan	-Ø	li	hu	saˀ	š-	b'en
	exists	it-subject	the	book	on	its-genitive	surface
	meš						
	table						

'The book is on top of the table.'

(7)	kwan	-Ø	xun	hu	saˀ	š-	b'en
	exists	it-subject	one	book	on	its-genitive	surface
	meš						
	table						

'There is a book on the table.'

(8)	kwan	-Ø	hu	saˀ	š-	b'en	meš
	exists	it-subject	book	on	its-genitive	surface	table

'There is (a) book on the table.'

Ownership (what I am calling the genitive) and possession are expressed using different grammatical structures in K'ekchi. In English, the sentence I have a book may mean either that the book is in my possession or that I own the book. In the K'ekchi data above, sentences (1) and (2) indicate ownership and sentences (3), (4), and (5) indicate possession. Ownership (the genitive) is expressed by the prefixing of an ergative pronoun to the object owned.[1]

Genitive - the object is owned.

kwan	-Ø	l-	in-	hu
exists	it-subject	the	my-genitive	book

'I own the book.'

There are, below, numerous examples of the genitive construction (ergative pronoun-N_1...N_2, where the ergative pronoun refers to the owner (N_2) and is prefixed to the object owned (N_1).

(9)	li	š-	asyen	lax	Xwan
	the	his-genitive	hacienda	masculine article	John
	č'inaˀ us				
	beautiful				

'John's hacienda is beautiful.'

(10)	li	š-	bo:ls	liš	Flora
	the	her-genitive	purse	feminine article	Flora

'Flora's purse...'

(11)	li	r-	a:q	li	kwi:nq
	the	his-genitive	pig	the	man

'The man's pig...'

(12)	li	š-	tib'-el	a:q
	the	its-genitive	meat	pig

'The pig's meat...'

(13)	li	š-	hu	lax	Karlos
	the	his-genitive	book	masculine article	Carlos

'Carlos' book...'

(14)	(l-)	in-	mes
	(the)	my-genitive	cat

'my cat...'

(15)	li	a:-	mes
	(the)	your-genitive	cat

'your cat...'

Possession is expressed by using a complex oblique case marker[2] to indicate the possessor. The oblique case marker has a surface structure like that of the genitive and consists of a nominal element that stands for some inalienable characteristic of the possessor. This nominal element has an ergative pronoun prefixed to it which refers to the possessor.

Possession - the object is possessed

li	hu	kwan	-∅	r-	ik'in	li	kwi:nq
the	book	exists	it-subject	his-genitive	presence	the	man
				oblique case marker			

'The book is with the man.'

Note sentences (2) and (3), as well.

Other oblique cases and verbal nouns have the same surface structure as that used to mark possession. While the underlying source of these constructions may differ, at some point in their derivation two nominals (N_1, N_2) stand in an agent-patient relationship. The cross indexing of these nominals by ergative affixing is the standard expression of that relationship. (See Pinkerton 'Ergativity' this volume for examples.)

The following is a partial list of oblique case markers. Some of these markers are also used in conjunction with prepositions. I have noted two of the more common prepositions with which oblique case markers appear. Only two of the oblique case markers are discussed here, and it is suggested that Freeze (1975) be read for an expanded treatment of oblique cases and their relation to prepositions.

1. Pronoun-e (singular - 1st person kwe; 2nd person a:kwe; 3rd person re; plural - 1st person qe; 2nd person e:re; 3rd person re?eb') e, alone, means 'mouth, lips, lower face,' and, generally, 'presence.'

    a. the dative case: in this use, Pronoun-e expresses the relation 'to'. Note the following examples.

(16)	li	kwi:nq	š-	-0	š-	k'e	li	hu
	the	man	past	it-object	he-subject	give	the	book

r- e	li	al
his-genitive-presence dative	the	boy

'The man gave the book to the boy.'

(17)	li	kwi:nq	š-	-0	š-	k'e	li	seruč
	the	man	past	it-object	he-subject	give	the	saw

r- e	xun	ax	peč
his-genitive-presence dative	one	masculine article	carpenter

'The man gave the saw to the carpenter.'

(18)	li	išq	na-	-0	š-	k'e	li
	the	woman	present	it-object	she-subject	give	the

law	r- e	li	al
key	his-genitive-presence dative	the	boy

'The woman gives the key to the boy.'

(19)	li	š-	na	na-	-0	š-
	the	her-genitive$_2$	mother$_1$	present	it-object	she-subject$_1$

k'e	li	š-	b'o:ls	r- e
give	the	her-genitive$_1$	purse	her-genitive-presence dative

š-	koʔ
her-genitive$_1$	daughter$_2$

'The girl's mother gives her (own) purse to her daughter.'

b. Another use of Pronoun-e expresses the relation 'of.' Note the following examples.

(20)	li	b'o:ls	re	lana	č'anaʔ us
	the	purse	of	wool	beautiful

'The wool purse is beautiful.'

(21)	li	š-	b'o:ls	re	lana	liš
	the	her-possession	purse	of	wool	feminine article

Flora	č'anaʔ us
Flora	beautiful

'Flora's wool purse is beautiful.'

(22)

li	paðre	re	li	santiɣles	na-	-Ø
the	priest	proper-to	the	church	present	it-object

š-	osoptesi	li	kašlan kwa	ut	li	vino
he-subject	celebrate	the	bread	and	the	wine

'The Church's priest celebrates the Mass.'

c. Additionally, Pronoun-e is used as discussed in the Pinkerton paper, 'Ergativity,' in this volume. Pronoun-e marks the new status of the direct object after the application of the Focus Shift Rule. The direct object becomes an oblique case after the tranformation's application.

(23)

li	kwi:nq	š-	-Ø	sak'	-ok
the	man	past	he-subject	hit	transitive absolutive

re	li	c'iˀ
oblique object	the	dog

'The man hit the dog.'

2. Pronoun-ik'in (singular - 1st person kwik'in; 2nd person a:kwik'in; 3rd person rik'in; plural - 1st person qik'in; 2nd person e:rik'in; 3rd person rik'ineb')

-ik'in does not seem to appear as an independent nominal. However, its independent meaning may be 'union.' In addition to expressing the relation of possession as shown above, it expresses a locative use which will not be discussed here. Below, are examples in which an instrumental relation is expressed. Later, I will present examples (40), (41), and (42) which suggest that the meaning of Pronoun-ik'in has been extended as a consequence of bilingual transfer from Spanish to K'ekchi. The Spanish translation of the K'ekchi morpheme -ik'in is 'con' when it is used in its instrumental, locative, and possessive meanings. 'con' is also used in Spanish in sentences like Hablé con-tigo. where 'con-' means 'together.' (The meaning of the Spanish sentence is 'I spoke (together with you.') It is this last meaning of 'con' which I and other investigators suspect has been transferred from Spanish to K'ekchi by K'ekchi-Spanish bilinguals.

a. Possession - see examples (3), (4), and (5).

b. instrumental case - in this case, Pronoun-ik'in expresses the relation 'with'.

(24)

lax	peč	na-	-Ø	š-
masculine article	carpenter	present	it-object	he-subject

set	li	c'alamče	rik'in	li	seruč
cut	the	wood	with	the	saw

'The carpenter cuts the wood with the saw.'

(25)

š-	at-	in-	sak'	rik'in	kw-	uq'
past	you-object	I-subject	hit	with	my-possession	hand

'I hit you with my hand.'

(26) l- in- na š- Ø- š-
the my-possession mother past it-object she-subject

sak' li c'iˀ rik'in li mesleb'
hit the dog with the broom

'My mother hit the dog with the broom.'

(27) li c'iˀ sak'b'il rik'in li mesleb'
the dog hit with the broom

'The dog was hit with the broom.'

(28) li hu setb'il rik'in li tixera
the paper cut with the scissors

'The paper was cut with the scissors.'

(29) li c'alamčeˀ setb'il rik'in li seruč
the wood cut with the saw

'The wood was cut with the saw.'

(30) li kwi:nq š- Ø- š- teˀ li pwe:rt
the man past it-object he-subject open the door

rik'in law
with key

'The man opened the door with a key.'

3. Pronoun-očb'en (singular - 1st person kwočb'en; 2nd person a:kwočb'en; 3rd person ročb'en; plural - 1st person qočb'en; 2nd person e:ročb'en; 3rd person ročb'eneb')

očb'en, alone, means 'company.' Below are examples of Pronoun-očb'en expressing the relation 'with' in the comitative sense.

(31) li kwi:nq š- Ø- š- teˀ li pwert
the man past it-object he-subject open the door

ročb'en li išq
with the woman

'The man opened the door in the company of the woman.'

(32) li kwi:nq š- Ø- š- loq' li lečuɣ
the man past it-object he-subject buy the lettuce

ročb'en li š- rab'in
with the his-genitive daughter

'The man bought the lettuce in the company of his daughter.'

(33) li al š- Ø- b'ek ročb'en li r-
the boy past he-subject walk with the his-genitive

amiɣ
friend

'The boy walked with his friend.'

(34)	li	al	š-	Ø-	b'ek	kwočb'en
	the	boy	past	he-subject	walk	with me

'The boy walked with me.'

(35)	li	al	š-	Ø-	b'ek	a:kwočb'en
	the	boy	past	he-subject	walk	with you

'The boy walked with you.'

(36)	li	al	š-	Ø-	b'ek	ročb'eneb'
	the	boy	past	he-subject	walk	with them

'The boy walked with them.'

(37)	liš	Maria	š-	Ø-	a:tinak	kwočb'en
	feminine article	Mary	past	she-subject	speak	with me

'Mary spoke in my company.'

(38)	li	č'ina?al	š-	Ø-	š-	b'ačun	kwočb'en
	the	child	past	it-object	he-subject	play	with me

'The child played in my company.'

(39)	lax	Xwan	š-	Ø-	pletik	kwočb'en
	masculine article	John	past	he-subject	fight	with me

'John fought in my company.' (against others)

The following sentences give three examples of the possible bilingual transfer of Spanish 'con' to K'ekchi Pronoun-ik'in. Notice the contrast between sentences (37), (38), and (39) above and sentences (40), (41), and (42) below.

c. bilingual extension of 'con' translation at K'ekchi Pronoun-ik'in

(40)	liš	Maria	š-	Ø-	a:tinak	kwik'in
	feminine article	Mary	past	she-subject	speak	with me

'Mary spoke with me.' (We conversed.)

(41)	li	č'ina?al	š-	Ø-	š-	b'ac'un	kwik'in
	the	child	past	it-object	he-subject	play	with me

'The child played with me.' (We played together.)

(42)	lax	Xwan	š-	Ø-	pletik	kwik'in
	masculine article	John	past	he-subject	fight	with me

'John fought (with) me.' (We fought each other.)

Other case markers along with two prepositions are listed below and are included in the word list in this volume.

4. Pronoun-ub'el may express the relation 'under'.

5. Pronoun-b'en may express the relation 'top of'.

6. Pronoun-b'an may be derived from the verb b'anu:nk 'to do'. This identifies the agent (an NP which is marked as an oblique case) in a passive sentence.

7. Pronoun-ma:k may be derived from the verb ma:kok 'to err'. This identifies the agent (an NP which is marked as an oblique case) in a passive sentence.

8. Pronoun-ib' may express the relation 'reflexive'.

9. Pronoun-iš may express the relation 'in back of'.

10. Pronoun-u may express the relation 'in one's presence'.

11. saʔ 'on' is a preposition which appears in conjunction with some of the oblique case markers. This preposition does not take pronoun affixes, and, according to Campbell (1971) and Freeze (1975) is related historically to the word for stomach. Note its use in the following example:

(43)	li	hu	kwan	-0	[saʔ	š-	b'en]	meš
	the	book	exists	it-subject	[on	it-genitive	top surface]	table
						" on	top of "	

'The book is on top of the table.'

12. či- is a preposition which may be related to the či- tense marker. It generally means 'with respect to'. For example: či-saʔ 'with in'. Like sa?, či- does not take pronoun prefixes (when used as a preposition), and it appears with some of the oblique case markers.

This paper has presented data for the verb kwan 'to be', the genitive, oblique cases and prepositions. It has discussed the relationship between ownership and possession in K'ekchi and pointed to a possible case of bilingual transfer from Spanish to K'ekchi.

Footnotes

[1] Ownership is expressed syntactically in a different manner from possession. However, ownership may be inalienable or alienable. The morphological expression of alienable and inalienable ownership is discussed in Freund 'Morphology' in this volume; I will not discuss it in this paper.

[2] By case marker, I do not mean some bound morpheme which is attached in some morphophonemic way to a noun or pronoun in order to signal some relationship that the noun or pronoun may have to other Nps in the sentence. In K'ekchi, an entity which marks an NP as having an oblique relation to other

NPs in the sentence is an unbound complex NP. This unbound, complex NP defines the relationship which the following NP has to other NPs in the sentence and may stand for that following NP, as a pronoun would, when that following NP has been deleted in the process of discourse.

(a)	laʔin	š-	Ø-	in-	k'e	re
	I-personal pronoun	past	it-object	I-subject	give	dative

li	išq	li	hu
the	woman	the	book

'I gave the woman the book.'

(b)	laʔin	š-	Ø-	in-	k'e	re
	I-personal pronoun	past	it-object	I-subject	give	dative

li	hu
the	book

'I gave someone (the woman) the book.'

The case marker also seems to be structurally different than a preposition in that prepositions do not, generally, appear with affixed pronouns. Furthermore, in some cases, a preposition may appear in conjunction with a case marker.

(c)	li	hu	kwan	-Ø	saʔ	šb'en	meš
	the	book	is	it-subject	on	top of	table

'The book is on top of the table.'

Note the preposition saʔ and the oblique case marker š-b'en.

K'EKCHI CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Marlys Bacon

From a structural point of view, there are four types of declarative sentences in K'ekchi: (a) Intransitive, (b) Transitive, (c) Nominal Predicate, and (d) Adjectival Predicate. These types will first be examined as independent clauses; then various subordinate clauses will be presented and their subordinate-markers and their relationship to independent clauses will be analyzed.

Two of the sentence types contain verbs. (a) The intransitive sentence is structurally simpler: it requires only a verb phrase and a noun phrase.

Examples:

(1)	ki-	V-	kam	li	kwi:nq	aˀin
	remote past	he-subject	die	the	man	this

'This man died.'

(2)	š-	Ø-	ko	či	be:k	li	al
	past	he-subject	go		walk	the	boy

'The boy went walking.'

(3)	na-	V-	trabaxik	li	kw-	as
	present	he-subject	work	the	erg-my	brother

'My brother works.'

(4)	nak-	eˀ	šik	saˀ	kaŷil	eb'	li	išq
	present	they-subject	go	to	market	plural	the	woman

'The women go to the market.'

(5)	nax	či us	kwan	-Ø	li	santiɣles
	far	very	be	it-subject	the	church

'The church is far away.'

The verb preceeds the subject in the underlying word order in K'ekchi, but superficially the word order seems quite free, as long as it is always clear which noun phrase is the subject. Sometimes it is word order which keeps this clear, but there are other grammatical devices - mostly verb-marking devices, which do so as well. In a common structural variation, then, it is possible for the subject to preceed the verb.

(6)	laˀo:	nak-	o:	kulak	saˀ	santiɣles
	1st-personal pro	present	we-subject	arrive	at	church

'We arrive at the church.'

(7)	li	kab'	kwan	-Ø	kwiˀ
	the	house	be	it-subject	there

'The house is there.'

(8)	li	kwi:nq	š-	Ø-	bičan
	the	man	past	he-subject	sing

'The man sang.'

(9)	li	išq	ta-	V-	loq'oq
	the	woman	future	she-subject	buy

'The woman will buy.'

(10)	laʔin,	t-	in-	a:wq
	I-personal pronoun	future	I-subject	plant

'I will plant.'

(11)	li	law	kwan	-Ø	saʔ	s-	be:n	me:š
	the	key	be	it-subject	in	its-genitive	top	table

'The key is on the table.'

(12)	li	kitar	š-	Ø-	xor-	eʔ
	the	guitar	past	it-subject	break	passive

'The guitar was broken.'

In sentence (12), the transitive verb stem xor 'to break,' is marked for passive, indicating that the noun phrase li kitar is the subject of this intransitive sentence. The pronominal subject affix is absolutive rather than ergative though this is not easily apparent in third-person examples in the past s tense where the affix for the absolutive set of pronouns is -Ø.

Since there are subject and object affixes within the verb complex, nominal subjects and objects are commonly deleted when they are unnecessary for clarity or emphasis.

(13)	t-	in-	a:wq	(comes from: t-in-a:wq laʔin.)
	future	I-subject	plant	

'I will plant.'

(14)	kwa:nk	-eb'	saʔ	b'e	naq	š-	Ø-	ko"
	be	they-subject	in	road	when	past	it-subject	begin
	li	hab'						
	the	rain						

'They were on the way when the rain began.'

(15)	tox	maxiʔ	na-	V-	šik
	yet	negative	present	he-subject	go

'He has not gone yet.'

(16)	maxiʔ	na-	V-	kwaʔak
	negative	present	he-subject	eat

'He has not eaten yet.'

(17)	šik	-qeʔ (?)	saʔ	asyen	Sapemech
	go	imperative-we-subject	to	farm	Las Conchas

'Let us go out to Las Conchas farm.'

It should be said that in order for a sentence to be transitive in K'ekchi, a definite object must be expressed. The direct object is indefinite when it has no determiners nor possessive pronouns or when it has an indefinite article. The Focus Transformation (see Pinkerton 'Ergativity') converts definite direct objects into oblique-case objects. If the direct object is indefinite or if it has undergone the Focus Transformation the verb will be marked Transitive Absolutive. If there is no direct object, the verb will be marked transitive.

(18)	t-	in-	k'atoq.	t-	Ø-	in-	k'at
	future	I-subject	burn	future	it-object	I-subject	burn
	li	pim	anaqwan				
	the	brush	now				

'I will burn. I will burn the brush now.'

(19)	š-	Ø-	š-	k'ub'	li	tib'el kwa	li	
	past	it-object	she-subject	prepare	the	meal	the	
	išq	ut	aʔan	š-	Ø-	cekan	r-e	
	woman	and	she	past	she-subject	eat	it-dative	
	či	xunil						
	preposition	once						

'The woman prepared the meal and she ate it.'

(20)	laʔo:,	š-	o:-	sak'ok	r-e
	we-personal pronoun	past	we-subject	hit	him-dative

'We hit him.'

(b) In transitive sentences there is not only a finite verb phrase and a subject noun phrase, there is also a noun phrase expressing a definite direct object. The general word order is VOS.

(21)	ti-	Ø-	š-	loq'	li	kitar	li	kwi:nq
	future	it-object	he-subject	buy	the	guitar	the	man

'The man will buy the guitar.'

(22)	š-	Ø-	r-	il	li	b'on	saʔ	č'oč'
	past	it-object	he-subject	see	the	painting	on	ground
	lax	Samwel						
	masculine-article	Samuel						

'Samuel saw the painting on the ground.'

(23)	š-	in-	ʔok'	kw-	ib'
	past	I-subject	cut	my-genitive	reflexive

'I cut myself.'

(24)	š-	Ø-	š-	k'ub'	li	tib'el kwa	li	išq
	past	it-object	she-subject	prepare	the	meal	the	woman

'The woman prepared the meal.'

(25)	š-	Ø-	qa-	b'iča	li	b'ič
	past	it-object	we-subject	sing	the	song

'We sang the song.'

(26)	t-	Ø-	in-	taw	li	ilok	r-u	hu
	future	it-object	I-subject	know	the	see	it-oblique case	book

'I will learn to read.'

Word order can vary in transitive sentences, too, as long as it remains clear which noun phrase is the subject. Constraints such as animacy and/or definiteness of the subject and object noun phrases play a part in determining how free the word order will be for a particular sentence (see Pinkerton Ergativity, this volume). The most frequent variation is S,VO.

(27)	li	al	š-	Ø-	ẙok'	r-ib'
	the	boy	past	he-subject	cut	my-genitive reflexive

'The boy cut himself.'

(28)	laʔin,	t-	Ø-	in-	ẙib'	l-	a:	kašlan kwa
	1st-personal pronoun	future	it-object	I-subject	make	the	your-genitive	bread

'I will make your bread.'

(29)	haʔan	na-	Ø-	š-	ẙok'	li	čeʔ
	he-personal pronoun	present	it-object	he-subject	cut	the	tree

'He cuts the tree(s).'

(30)	li	kwi:nq	š-	Ø-	r-	ab'i	xun	son
	the	man	past	it-object	he-subject	hear	a	song

'The man heard the song.'

(31)	liš	Lola	š-	Ø-	š-	taqla	li	r-	ic'in	či	r-
	feminine article	Lola	past	him-object	she-subject	send	the	her-genitive	young brother	preposition	it-genitive oblique case

iš	kab'
back	house

'Lola sent her brother behind the house.'

(32)	li	kwi:nq	na-	Ø-	r-	ab'i	li	son
	the	man	present	it-object	he-subject	hear	the	song

ut	na-	Ø-	š-	b'ič̌a
and	present	it-object	he-subject	sing

'The man hears the song and sings (it).'

Notice that the second verb in the compound sentence above is still transitive despite the deletion of its object noun phrase, which was stated and definite in the first clause. Compare with the intransitive simple sentence:

(33)	li	kwi:nq	na-	Ø-	b'ičan
	the	man	present	he-subject	sing

'The man sings.'

As in intransitive clauses, nominal subjects, and sometimes nominal objects can be deleted. The pronominal affixes alone are often sufficient to keep the referents clear:

(34)	š-	Ø-	š-	ỹib'	li	šam
	past	it-object	he-subject	make	the	fire

'He lit the fire.'

(35)	xunelik	na-	Ø-	a:-	pac'	tumin	kw- e
	always	present	it-object	you-subject	lend	money	me-dative

'You always lend me money.'

(36)	t-	Ø-	a:-	taw	li	ilok ru	hu	saʔ	xunpat
	future	it-object	you-subject	learn	the	see	book	in	jiffy

'You will learn to read books in a jiffy.'

(37)	t-	at-	in-	ta:qe	bar kwiʔ	t-
	future	you-object	I-subject	follow	where	future

Ø-	a:-	šik	q
it-object	you-subject	go	aspect marker

'I will follow you wherever you may go.'

(c) - (d) The remaining two types of declarative sentences do not contain a verb. In such sentences the predicate is manifested by either a noun phrase or by an adjective. The adjectival predicate is frequently a participial form of a verb. These two types are essentially copular sentences, sometimes called equational sentences. There is no overt copular verb in K'ekchi. These predicates, nominal or adjectival are followed by the nominal subject (predicate-subject). Eachus and Carleson (1965) call the constituents of such sentences the 'comment' followed by the 'topic.' Not being transitive sentences, these two types take the absolutive pronouns, which are always suffixed when they appear.

(38)

li	ninqi	šoš	a?an	xun	ϑaxel	mas
the	big	spot	it-personal pronoun	a	sickness	very

šϑušϑu
dangerous

'Smallpox is a very dangerous sickness.'

(39)

in-	b'e:lom	lax	Manu	š-
my-genitive	husband	masculine article	Manuel	his-genitive

k'ab'a?
name

'My husband's name is Manuel.'

(40)

li	š-	č'ina	ϑum	liš	Jwana
the	his-genitive	small	son	feminine article	Juana

lax	Lwis	š-	k'ab'a?
masculine article	Luis	his-genitive	name

'Juana's son is named Luis.'

(41)

liš	Jwana	ax	pučonel
feminine article	Juana	article	washer

'Juana is a washerwoman.'

(42)

li	c'aqal	us	š-	b'anunkil	a?an
the	appropriate	good	its-genitive	doing	it-personal pro

š-	ϑib'ankil	xunaq	li	qa-	kumum
its-genitive	making	a	the	my-genitive	latrine

'The thing to do is to build ourselves a latrine.'

(43)

ink'a	š-	kwa	li	š-	ø-	š-
not	her-genitive	tortilla	the	past	it-object	she-subject

kwa?	liš	Tina
eat	feminine article	Tina

'What Tina ate was not tortillas.'

(44)

nimla	ab'	l-	a:kw-	ab'
big	hammock	the	your-genitive	hammock

'Your hammock is a big one.'

In the copular sentence with adjectival predicate, the adjective or participle occurs first, followed by the subject noun phrase.

(45)	tip	li	kape
	hot	the	coffee

'The coffee is hot.'

(46)	č'ina us	li	a:kw-	a:q
	nice	the	your-genitive	pig

'That is a nice pig you have.'

(47)	mas	a:l	li	b'on
	very	heavy	the	painting

'The painting is very heavy.'

(48)	nim	a:-	tib'el
	big	your-genitive	flesh

'You are fat.'

(49)	ink'a	š-	kul	-um	lax	xwan
	not	past	arrive	participial suffix	masculine article	John

'Juan did not arrive.'

(50)	mas	ǯib' r-u	li	kab'	kwan	-0	kwiˀ
	very	ugly	the	house	be	it-subject	place

'That house over there is very ugly.'

(51)	sa	šaˀ	š-	č'o:l	-eb'
	happy	in	their-genitive	heart	plural

'They are happy.'

Here, too, word order can vary for emphasis or variety, when the subject is clearly identified and not likely to be confused with another noun phrase in the sentence:

(52)	li	kitar	tuytu
	the	guitar	hung

'The guitar is hanging up.'

(53)	eb'	li	al	ut	eb'	li	šqaˀal	čab'il	eb'
	plural	the	boy	and	plural	the	girl	nice	plural

'The boys and girls are nice.'

(54)	li	kwi:nq	ink'a	čab'il	š-	č'o:l
	the	man	not	nice	his-genitive	heart

'The man is not kind hearted.'

(55)	li	tib'	ut	li	kašlan kwa	-eb'	li	š-	0-
	the	meat	and	the	bread	plural	the	past	it-object
	in-	ceka	sa	rax					
	I-subject	eat	delicious	past-particle					

'The meat and the bread I ate were delicious.'

(56)	li	čeˀ	nim	š-	saˀ
	the	tree	big	its-genitive	inside

'The tree is big (in circumference).'

(57)	eb'	li	čeˀ	nim	-eb'	š-	saˀ	-eb'
	plural	the	tree	big	plural	their-genitive	inside	plural

'The trees are big (in circumference).'

(58)	xok'an	axkwiˀ	li	š-	c'iˀ	ra	saˀ	š-
	thus	also	the	his-genitive	dog	sad	in	his-genitive
	č'o:l							
	heart							

'So his dog feels badly too.'

(59)	li	č'oč'	q'un	ut	čab'il
	the	earth	soft	and	rich

'The earth is soft and rich.'

(60)	č'oč'	čik	tub'tu	saˀ li		š-	sel
	earth	again	gathered	in	the	her-genitive	gourd

'Dirt was again piled up in her gourd.'

In summary, there are four different structures for declarative sentences in K'ekchi. They are of the following types:

(a)	INTRANSITIVE	Verb-Subject
(b)	TRANSITIVE	Verb-Object-Subject
(c)	NOMINAL PREDICATE	Noun Phrase $_{\text{predicate}}$ - Noun Phrase $_{\text{subject}}$
(d)	ADJECTIVAL PREDICATE	Adjective-Noun Phrase $_{\text{subject}}$

We can now look at various kinds of subordinate clauses, showing how they are marked subordinate and what their relationship is to the main clause of a complex sentence.

Noun Clauses

Noun clauses are dependent clauses which can occupy either the subject or object NP position in a higher sentence. Such clauses are introduced by the particle naq, which denotes their subordinate status.

(a) Noun clause as subject:

(61)	na-	ø-	kulak	či-kw-u	naq	tuytuk
	present	it-subject	please	to me	that	hang-participle

li	kitar
the	guitar

'That the guitar is hanging up pleases me.'

(62)	naxaʔnaq	naq	na-	ø-	šik
	(it is) in-a-proud-way	that	present	he-subject	walk about

'It is a proud way that he walks about.'

(63)	tento	naq	laʔeš	t-	eš-
	(it is) necessary	that	you plural	future	you plural-subject

kuteq'	naq	tox	maxiʔ	š-	eš-
vaccinated (passive)	so that	yet	not	past	you plural-subject

ƴaxer	rik'in	li	ninqi	šoš
get sick	with	the	big	spots

'It is necessary that you be vaccinated so that you do not get smallpox.'

(b) Noun clause as object:

(64)	š-	kw-	il	naq	š-	ø-	š-	loq'
	past	I-subject	see	that	past	it-object	he-subject	buy

li	kitar
the	guitar

'I see that he bought the guitar.'

(65)	š-	kw-	ab'i	naq	ƴok	-eb'	rax
	past	I-subject	hear	that	be	they	past particle

či a:tinak	naq	eb'aʔan	t-	eʔ-	sumlak
say	that	they-personal pronoun	future	they	marry

'I heard that they were saying that they would marry.'

(66)	š-	ø-	ƴe	naq	mas	ƴib'	r-u	li
	past	she-subject	say	that	very	ugly	its-face	the

kab'	kwan	-ø	kwiʔ
house	be	it-subject	there

'She said that her house there looked very ugly.'

Adverbial Clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses, specifying an antecedent condition, are introduced by the particle kwiʔ; the verbs of both the dependent adverbial clause and the main clause are most frequently marked with the future tense. In general, adverbial clauses of this type preceed the main clause, but they may also follow.

(67)

kwiʔ	t-	Ø-	a:kw-	ax	laʔin
if	future	it-object	you-subject	want	I-personal pronoun

t-	in-	yib'	l-	a:-	kašlan kwa
future	I-subject	make	the	your-genitive	bread

'If you want, I'll make bread for you.'

(68)

kwiʔ	š-	čaqik	či us	li	pim	t-	in-
if	past	dry	alot	the	brush	future	I-subject

k'atoq
burn

'If the brush is well dried out, I'll burn it.'

(69)

kwiʔ	t-	Ø-	a:-	k'e	l-	a:-
if	future	it-object	you-subject	give	the	your-genitive

č'o:l	či	colok	t-	at-	taw	li
heart	to	learning	future	you-subject	understand	the

iloq' r-ʊ hu	saʔ	xunpat
look-at-book	in	hurry

'If you apply yourself to studying, you'll learn to read quickly.'

(70)

kwiʔ	ink'a	t-	Ø-	a:-	b'it	a:kw-
if	not	future	it-object	you-subject	hurry	your-genitive

u	ink'a	t-	at-	šik	či	kw-iš	b'e:k
self	not	future	you-subject	go	to	with to	walk

'If you don't hurry up, you won't go out walking with me.'

Locational adverbial clauses are introduced by bar kwiʔ 'where' and follow the main clause. Bar kwiʔ is also used as the interrogative word 'where.' Generally, the two clauses exhibit the same tense/aspect markers.

(71)

n-	in	kulak	r-	ilb'al	li	kw-
present	I-subject	come	him-genitive	seeing	the	my-genitive

as	bar kwiʔ	na-	Ø-	trab'axik
brother	where	present	he-subject	work

'I'm coming to see my brother where he works.'

(72)

š-	Ø-	sač	saʔ	in-	č'o:l	bar kwiʔ
past	it-subject	lose	in	my-genitive	heart	where

š-	Ø-	in-	loq'
past	it-object	I-subject	buy

'I forgot where I bought it.'

(73)

t-	at-	in	taq	bar kwiˀ	t-
future	you-object	I-subject	follow	where	future

a:kwa-	šik
you-subject	go

'I'll follow wherever you may go.'

Adverbial clauses of relative time are introduced by the particle naq a word which also introduces noun clauses that function as a major constituent of a higher clause. Such adverbial time-clauses may appear preceding or following the main clause. The state of action of the first clause, whether main or subordinate, usually has the sense of being prior, or on-going in a contextual sense, or customary, in relation to the state or action of the folllowing clause. I present examples below in which the adverbial time-clause appears preceding the main clause.

(74)

naq	tiq	li	kape	š-	Ø-	š-	k'e
when	hot	the	coffee	past	it-object	he-subject	give

r- e	liš	Rosa
her-dative	feminine article	Rosa

'When the coffee was hot he gave it to Rosa.'

(75)

naq	ƴo	-Ø	r-isink'il	li	k'is	Samwel
when	be	he-subject	its-clearing	the	undergrowth	Samuel

š-	Ø-	r-	il	xun	li	kantiˀ
past	it-object	he-subject	see	one	the	snake

'While he was clearing the undergrowth, Samuel saw a snake.'

(76)

naq	š-	eˀ-	kulak	saˀ	šnaˀax	li	š-
when	past	they-subject	arrive	at	its-place	the	"his"

k'al	Beto	š-	Ø-	ƴeˀok	re ....
milpa	Beto	past	he-subject	say	to him

'When they arrived at the milpa, Beto said to him...'

Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a dependent clause acting as a modifier supplying information about a noun phrase (the head noun) found in the main clause. I am going to assume that this co-referent NP in the dependent clause may be deleted optionally in relative clause formation, although other alternative analyses are certainly possible.

In K'ekchi, relative clauses are generally introduced by the particle li which is homophonous with the definite article. Gragg (1972) suggests a "nominalizing" function for the relative clause-marking particle in Sumerian. It is probably not coincidence that in K'ekchi the relative clause marking particle looks like the definite article. li seems to serve a nominalizing function in other constructions as well, as in the sentence below with its embedded questions as noun phrase complements:

(77)

a	mi-qa-k'am-pa-q-o	aʔan	li	k'a ru	š-
		it-personal pronoun	that	what	past

0-	qa-	ȳe	š-	0-	qa-	banu
it-object	we-subject	say	past	it-object	we-subject	do

saʔ	li	qa-	kalaxik
in	the	our-genitive	drunkeness

'We must not remember what we said and did in a state of drunkeness.'

In the examples which follow, the head noun is marked by a simple underline and the relative clause is marked by a double underline:

(78)

xorol	li	kitar	li	š-	0-	š-
broken	the	guitar	that	past	it-object	he-subject

loq'	li	kwi:nq
buy	the	man

'The guitar that the man bought is broken.'

(79)

ra	š-	xolom	li	išq	li	na-
painful	her-genitive	head	the	woman	that	present

0-	š-	k'aȳin	kwa
it-object	she-subject	sell	tortillas

'The woman that sells tortillas has a headache.'

(80)

li	kwi:nq	li	š-	0-	ab'i:nk	re	
the	man	that	past	he-subject	hear	it-object	dative

li	son	š-	0-	š-	b'ica
the	"son"	past	it-object	he-subject	sing

'The man who heard the song sang it.'

(81)

li	išq	li	ta-	0-	r-	ax
the	woman	that	future	it-object	she-subject	want

sumlak		sumlak	re	
marrying	(will)	marry	him-(?)	dative

'The woman who wants to get married will do so.'

(82)

eb'	li	a:l	ut	eb'	li	šqaʔal	li	n-
plural	the	boy	and	plural	the	girl	that	present

in-	naw	-eb'	r-	u	ȳok	-eb'
I-subject	know	them-object	their-genitive	face	be	they

či	coloq
	learning

'The boys and girls whom I know are studying.'

The introductory particle may not be, strictly speaking, invariable: it may carry the plural marker (eb'li...) as in the following example, but this is rare and I do not know of any consistent environment in which it appears. (See Pinkerton "Ergativity" for more information about the personal pronouns - in particular, the 3rd person plural).

(83)

li	tib'	ut	li	kašlan kwa	eb' li	š-	Ø-
the	meat	and	the	bread	that	past	it-object

in-	ceka	sa	rax
I-subject	eat	delicious	past particle

'The meat and the bread that I ate were delicious.'

There are also cases where li is optional. I will place it in parentheses in the following examples to indicate its optionality.

(84)

š-	Ø-	in-	ǥib'	li	kwa	(li)	š-
past	it-object	I=subject	make	the	tortilla	that	past

Ø-	a:-	pay	ekwer
it-object	you-subject	order	yesterday

'I made the tortillas you ordered yesterday.'

(85)

čab'il	li	č'i:n	(li)	š-	Ø-	in-	loq'
good	the	orange	that	past	it-object	I-subject	buy

'The oranges I bought were good ones.'

(86)

mas	a:l	li	b'on	(li)	t-	Ø-
very	heavy	the	painting	that	future	it-object

(i)š-	k'am	rik'in	liš	Tina
he-subject	bring	to	feminine article	Tina

'The painting that he's bringing to Tina is very heavy.'

(87)

li	al	(li)	kwan	-Ø	rik'in	liš
the	boy	that	be	he-subject	with	feminine article

Tina	ta-	Ø-	r-	ax	axkwiʔ	šik	saʔ
Tina	future	it-object	he-subject	want	also	go	to

eskwela
school

'The boy with Tina wants to go to school too.'

(88)

š-	Ø-	š-	ǥe	nak	mas	ǥib'	r-u
past	it-object	he-subject	say	that	very	ugly	its-face

li	kab'	(li)	kwan	-Ø	kwiʔ
the	house	that	be	it-subject	there

'He said that the house that is over there is very ugly.'

(89)

li	kwi:nq	(li)	kwan	-Ø	š-	tumin
the	man	that	be	he-subject	his-genitive	money

t-	Ø-	(i)š-	loq'	li	kitar
future	it-object	he-subject	buy	the	guitar

'The man who has the money will buy the guitar.'

I believe that the environmental condition for li deletion in sentences (87), (88), and (89) is the verb kwa:nk 'to be' (an existential verb), which seems to be susceptible to reduction in other parts of the grammar as well (see Stone 'Possession' this volume). Flora thought that the inclusion of li in relative clauses with kwa:nk was acceptable, but that commonest usage deleted it.

Many scholars suggest that relativized NPs are not to be represented underlyingly as fully specified NPs, but rather as some kind of pro-form. In examples (90) and (91) below it is impossible to say what the fully specified NP might be, though we could list several plausible alternatives.

(90)

ink'aˀ	š-	kwa	li	š	Ø-
not	her-genitive	tortillas	that	past	it-object

š-	kwaˀ	liš	Tina
she-subject	eat	feminine article	Tina

'It wasn't tortillas that Tina ate.'

(91)

ma:kwaˀ	išq	li	ta-	Ø-	loq'	re
not	woman	that	future	she-subject	buy	oblique-it

li	leču
the	lettuce

'It won't be a woman who buys the lettuce.'

For most languages, not all NP positions are readily accessible to relative clause formation. Keenan (1972b) describes a universal "hierarchy of availability" of NPs to relative clause formation. He claims that this order is a feature of universal grammar which is independent of the syntax of any given language. He states, "for NP positions whose S is the root node, we find: subject NP > direct object NP > indirect object NP > objects of true preposition > possessor NP > objects of comparative particle... means 'easier than or equal to in relativizability'." Each language allows relative clause formation along a continuum consistent with the above hierarchy, stopping at some point along the continuum dependent on the relative clause forming strategy employed by the particular language.

Relative clause formation in K'ekchi is consistent with the Keenan "hierarchy of availability" for the formation of relative clauses. One can relativize into the subject position easily as seen in the following example:

(92)

Laˀo	li	nak-	o:-	kulak	saˀ	santiɣles
we	who	present	we-subject	arrive	at	the church

b'ičan
sing

'We who arrive at the church sing.'

One can also relativize into the direct object position so long as the direct object consists of a noun and its determiners as seen in the following example:

(93)	š-	Ø-	in-	ŷib'	li	kwa	(li)	š-
	past	it-object	I-subject	make	the	tortillas	that	past

Ø-	a:-	pay	ekwer
it-object	you-subject	order	yesterday

'I made the tortillas that you ordered yesterday.'

A frequent transformation which blocks relative clause formation is the Focus Transformation which transforms the direct object into an oblique case, as seen in examples (96) and (97).

Another factor contributing to the blockage of relative clause formation may be the violation of the specificity and animacy constraints which disambiguate subject from direct object in a clause. Thus, (94), below, is grammatical, but (95) is not:

(94)	li	kwi:nq	š-	Ø-	š-	loq'	li	kitar
	the	man	past	it-object	he-subject	buy	the	guitar

li	š-	Ø-	š-	b'on	li	išq
that	past	it-object	she-subject	paint	the	woman

'The man bought the guitar that the woman painted.'

(95)	li	c'iˀ	š-	Ø-	š-	tiw	li	mes
	the	dog	past	it-object	it-subject	bite	the	cat

li	š-	Ø-	š-	čap	li	č'oˀ
that	past	it-object	it-subject	catch	the	rat

'The dog bit the cat that caught the rat.'

Notice that in sentence (94), li kitar is the direct object in both the matrix and the relative clause, the subjects of the matrix and the relative clause being animate human agents (li kwi:nq and li išq, respectively). Given the inanimacy of li kitar and the animacy of li kwi:nq and li išq, there is no confusion about which items are agents and which item is the recipient of the actions in the sentence. In sentence (95), li mes is supposed to be the object of the matrix sentence and the subject of the relative clause. However, the animacy and the specificity of the three noun phrases in the sentence is the same; li c'iˀ, li mes, and li č'oˀ are all animate and specific, and each of them can perform the action of the verb in the matrix sentence (tiw 'to bite') as well as the action of the verb in the relative clause (čap 'to catch'). Similarly, each of the noun phrases may be recipients of the action in the matrix sentence and the relative clause. There is no way for subjects and objects in this sentence to be disambiguated, and, as a result, sentence (95) is judged ungrammatical. Sentence (96) below, shows that the Focus Transformation can help to disambiguate the subject and the direct object in the relative clause, thereby generating a grammatical surface structure.

(96)

li	c'iʔ	š-	∅-	š-	tiw	li	mes
the	dog	past	it-object	it-subject	bite	the	cat

li	š-	∅-	čapok	re	li	č'oʔ
that	past	it-subject	catch	oblique object	the	rat

'The dog bit the cat that caught the rat.'

This strategy cannot be continued as a way of permitting relativization of further embedded sentences because one cannot relativize into oblique object position.

(97) *

li	c'iʔ	š-	∅-	š-	tiw	li	mes
the	dog	past	it-object	it-subject	bite	the	cat

li	š-	∅-	čapok	re	li	č'oʔ
that	past	it-subject	catch	oblique object	the	rat

li	š-	∅-	k'ušuk	re	li	keːs
that	past	it-subject	eat	oblique object	the	cheese

'The dog bit the cat that caught the rat that ate the cheese.'

When forming complex sentences containing relative clauses in K'ekchi, the Focus Transformation may come into play rather easily to clarify subject-verb relationships. Once it occurs, it blocks relativization of the nominal object. Such a closure constraint is found in many languages. According to this constraint, one cannot relativize into a structure generated by a movement transformation. Thus, (99) can be generated from (98) by the Focus Transformation:

(98)

li	mes	š-	∅-	š-	čap	li	č'oʔ
the	cat	past	it-object	it-subject	catch	the	rat

'The cat caught the rat.'

(99)

li	mes	š-	∅-	čapok	re	li	č'oʔ
the	cat	past	it-subject	catch	oblique object	the	rat

'The cat caught the rat.'

One can no longer relativize into li č'oʔ in sentence (99), even though it may plausibly be considered the (direct) object.

Thus, objects are not as easily accessible to relative clause formation as subjects, and Keenan's hierarchy is not penetrated beyond that point. Certainly, one cannot relativize into the objects of true prepositions like saʔ 'in' and či 'to'.

In order to reach other noun phrase positions with relative clause formation, another strategy must be used. The simplest way is to restructure the sentence so that the noun phrase is in preposed-subject position. What Keenan (1972) calls a "verb-coding strategy," in which the verb form codes the function of the head noun phrase, comes into play again. This time the verb is marked passive, attributing subject status to a noun phrase which had been the object. Thus, sentence (100) is grammatical:

(100)

li	ke:s	kusb'il	šb'an	li	č'oʔ	li
the	cheese	eat-passive	oblique-'agent'	the	rat	that

čapb'il	šb'an	li	mes	li	šeb'esimb'il
catch-passive	oblique-'agent'	the	cat	that	bite-passive

šb'an	li	c'iʔ	li	sak'b'il	šb'an
oblique-'agent'	the	dog	that	hit-passive	oblique-'agent'

li	a:l	li	š-	Ø-	ko	či	b'e:k
the	boy	that	past	he-subject	go	to	walk

'The cheese was eaten by the rat that was caught by the cat that was bitten by the dog that was struck by the boy who went out for a walk.'

In each of the clauses above, the predicate (a passive participle) is a one-place predicate; the noun phrase associated with it can only be its subject. The agentive š-b'an which is used to string the predicates together may be sentential in structure (roughly - 'the cheese is eaten up; the doer of the eating is the rat...'). The noun phrases into which one can relativize are underlying 'subjects' and are thus readily accessible to relative clause formation.

K'ekchi exhibits four structural types of main clauses. Of those, containing verbs, there is a transitive type and an intransitive type. Of the "verbless" (or non-copular) types, one has a nominal predicate and one has an adjectival predicate.

Noun clauses beginning with the introductory particle nak serve as sentential subjects or objects of a higher sentence. Nak is the only overt marker for this clause type. The syntax and the verb morphology are those characteristic of matrix clauses.

Among adverbial clause types is the conditional clause, introduced by the particle kwiʔ; the conditional clause generally precedes the main clause but it may also follow. Locational adverb clauses are introduced by bar kwiʔ 'where'. Several other kinds of adverb clauses occur, but are not discussed.

Relative clauses follow their head nouns, introduced by the particle li. The co-referent noun phrase is deleted from the position into which one has relativized. Its syntactic function there is verb-coded. One may relativize into subject position, except when the subject is a sentential one. One may relativize into object position if a movement transformation does not block the relativization. Frequently, the Focus Transformation blocks relativization. One cannot relativize into oblique noun phrase positions. These positions can be made accessible to relative clause formation by restructuring or rephrasing the sentence in such a way as to place the noun phrase to be relativized in subject position.

Footnotes

A number of the examples which appear in this paper were taken from a series of instructional booklets published by the Instituto Linguistico de Verano in cooperation with the Ministerio de Educacion Publica of Guatemala. The booklets were prepared by Ruth Carlson and Frances Eachus, members of SIL.

A few other examples included here appeared in K'ekchi language materials of the Biblioteca Popular Latinoamericana, published by the Union Panamericana, Secretaria General de la Organizacion de los Estados Americanos, Washington, D.C.

K'EKCHI KINSHIP

Pat Kennedy

The kinship system under study in this paper is the K'ekchi kinship system. The K'ekchi are classified, on a linguistic basis, as a Mayan group. However, Romney (1964) pointed out that while information on Mayan kinship systems is generally spotty, variability among Mayan kinship systems is much greater than among those of the other Middle American groups. Work of an ethnographic nature on the K'ekchi has been very scant, with little or no published work in the area of kinship. This paper will address itself to K'ekchi terms of reference for consanguineals, i.e., individuals related by blood, which were elicited during working sessions with Flora Ac Caal, a native of Coban, Guatemala, and a coordinate bilingual in Spanish and K'ekchi. According to Flora, terms of address for kin have been borrowed from Spanish, a pattern not uncommon among more acculturated communities in Middle America. It is not the purpose of this paper to argue that the kinship terms of reference cited herein are those used by all K'ekchi speakers. Quite the contrary, there is some evidence to indicate the existence of other terms of reference for certain kin types, which may be on their way to becoming obsolete, or are still in use in communities less acculturated than Coban. For example, Flora noted at one time that she had heard the term kwik'an used to refer to 'uncle', but that she had heard it on the radio, never among her own group. A K'ekchi vocabulary for the Coban dialect, compiled by Bourgeois (1897), lists 'uncle' as guik'an and 'aunt' as guik'ana. Thus it would appear that the Coban dialect did at one time include guik'an, and no longer does. The vocabulary's entry for 'first cousin' is guas, which is also the term for 'older sibling'. While it would be tempting to conclude from this that the K'ekchi kinship system at one time equated first cousins (or at least some of them) with siblings, which it does not now do, a degree of caution is in order when working with such texts as vocabulary lists; in this instance especially, it is well to bear in mind that the Spanish for 'first cousin' is primo hermano. Still, further research could turn up significant changes that have taken place in K'ekchi kinship terminology, and the system of social organization it may reflect.

In K'ekchi, kin terms are inalienable nominals and therefore always co-occur with a possessor morpheme in the adnominal position. There are two sets of morphemes to denote possession, one that precedes nominals beginning with vowels, and the other preceding nominals that begin with consonants (for further discussion see: Freund: Morphology; Stone: Possession; and Pinkerton: Ergativity, this volume). The possessor morpheme will always be represented in the paper, for a number of reasons: a) the kin terms would not be grammatical without the possessor morpheme; b) the nature of K'ekchi terms of reference for kin is such that the possessive forms are semantically essential, and c) kin terms simply do not occur without the possessive marking. For the sake of clarity, the possessor morpheme will be orthographically separated from the kin term by a dash (-), as follows:

š -	ʔum	r -	anab	in -	ʔukwa
3rd person possessor morph before consonant	female offspring of a female	3rd person possessor morph before vowel	female sibling of a male	1st person possessor morph before consonant	male lineal, first ascending generation (father)

Terms of reference for lineals[1] and colineals[2] are unitary kin terms, while terms for collaterals[3] are composite kin terms composed of those kin terms necessary to precisely describe how ego traces the kinship of the referent to self, as in the above example.

The analysis that follows will be a componential analysis that takes the actual K'ekchi terms of reference for kin and matches these to the kin types that correspond to those terms, so as to determine the minimal "bundle of features" (Lounsbury, 1964) sufficient to describe the class of kin types referred to by the kin term in question. The kin types are represented through formulae composed of notations adopted from Romney and D'Andrade (1964). They are as follows:

a: individual of either sex
m: male
f: female
E: elder
Y: younger
O: sibling link
+: ascending generation (parental link)
-: descending generation (child link)
i: subscript to mark a feature present in the presence of a male ego
j: subscript to mark a feature present in the presence of a female ego

The data will be presented as in the following example:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
kw-as	mOEm fOEf fOEm	$aOE(a)_j(m)_i$

Taking the first item in the list of the denotata, the formula reads as follows: male ego, sibling link, elder male. Thus, when a male uses the term kw-as, he is referring to his elder brother. The componential definition is a unitary definition of the term in question, the defining features of the class of denotata referred to by kw-as (Lounsbury, 1964).

ANALYSIS OF THE TERMS

Sibling terms.

The main criteria in classifying siblings are age of the referent relative to ego and the sex of the referent. However, these criteria are differently applied depending upon the sex of ego. The three K'ekchi terms to refer to siblings and the kin types to which each refer are as follows:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
kw-as	mOEm fOEf fOEm	$aOE(a)_j(m)_i$
kw-ic'in	fOYf fOYm mOYm	$aOY(a)_j(m)_i$
kw-anab	mOEf mOYf	mOf

As the above shows, kw-as and kw-ic'in have as a dimension of meaning age relative to ego, both when ego is male and when ego is female. This and zero generation are the only dimensions of meaning for sibling kin when ego is female. However, with the male ego, while the criterion of relative age is applied when referring to male siblings, it is not applied when referring to females. A third term, kw-anab, is the only term a male ego uses to refer to female siblings. Since a male uses kw-anab only to refer to his female siblings, kw-ic'in and kw-as acquire an additional dimension of meaning, sex, where a male ego is concerned. Usage of the term also differs according to whether ego is male or female. The age of twelve appears to be an important age for the male in a number of Mayan groups, and marks a change in his status within the group. Among the K'ekchi, although a female ego continues to refer to her younger female sibling as kw-ic'in throughout her life, once her younger male sibling is over twelve years of age she must refer to him as kw-as unless he is much younger than she. Male ego, on the other hand, has the option to continue to mark the relative age difference when referring to his younger male sibling, even when that sibling is over twelve years of age. The following table is modeled after Metzger's (1965) table on kin terms for Tzeltal (Aguacatenango).

Kin Term	Age Relative to Ego	Sex of Referent	Sex of Ego	Generation
kw-as	E	m a	m f	Zero
kw-ic'in	Y	m a	m f	Zero
kw-anab	ϕ	f	m	Zero

First Ascending Generation

Lineals. The terms used by ego to refer to male and female lineals in the first ascending generation are the same for both the male and female ego.

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
in - ʔyukwa	m+m f+m	a+m
in-naˀ	m+f f+f	a+f

Collaterals. The terms used by ego to refer to siblings of ego's parents are determined by the sex of the intervening relative, i.e., the parent. The kin terms and their corresponding kin types are presented below:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
r-ic'in in-naˀ	m+fOYf m+fOYm f+fOYf f+fOYm	a+fOYa
r-ic'in in - ʔyukwa	f+mOYm m+mOYm	a+mOYm

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
r-as in-naʔ	m+fOEf m+fOEm f+fOEf f+fOEm	a+fOEa
r-as in - ʔukwa	m+mOEm f+mOEm	a+mOEm
r-anab in - ʔukwa	m+mOEf f+mOYf	a+mOf

As can be seen from the above, terms for ego's collaterals in the first ascending generation correspond to those for ego's siblings, with the added feature of marking for ascending generation. In other words, comparing the componential definitions for kin terms for siblings in ego's generation with those for collaterals in the first ascending generation, we find that the formulae for the collaterals prefix 'a+' to the formulae for sibling terms. Also evident is the fact that sex of ego is no longer a determining criterial attribute, as indicated by the fact that the slot in the formulae for ego is filled by either a male or female.

The criterial attributes governing the terms for ego's collaterals in the first ascending generation correspond to those governing the terms for ego's siblings as follows:

Ego's Siblings	Ego's Collaterals First Ascending Generation
1. Sex of ego	1. Sex of intervening relative
2. Relative age of referent vis-a-vis ego	2. Relative age of referent vis-a-vis intervening relative
3. Sex of referent	3. Sex of referent
4. Zero generation	4. First ascending generation

First descending generation

Lineals. K'ekchi kin terms for lineals in the first descending generation (ego's offspring) and their corresponding kin types are as follows:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
kw-alal	m-m	m-m
in-rabin	m-f	m-f
in - ʔum	f-m	f-m
in-koʔ	f-f	f-f

Collaterals. Terms of reference for offspring of ego's siblings and the respective kin types to which they refer are as follows:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
r-alal kw-as	mOEm-m fOEm-m fOYm-m	aO(E)$_i$m-m

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
š-rabin kw-as	mOEm-f fOEm-f fOYm-f	$aO(E)_i m-f$
r-alal kw-ic'in	mOYm-m	mOYm-m
š-rabin kw-ic'in	mOYm-f	mOYm-f
š - ʔum kw-anab	mOEf-m mOYf-m	mOf-m
š-koˀ kw-anab	mOEf-f mOYf-f	mOf-f
š - ʔum kw-ic'in	fOYf-m	fOYf-m
š-koˀ kw-ic'in	fOYf-f	fOYf-f
š - ʔum kw-as	fOEf-m	fOEf-m
š-koˀ kw-as	fOEf-f	fOEf-f

The terms used to refer to ego's siblings' offspring are composite kin terms and the features of meaning of the constituent kin terms become features of meaning of the resultant composite kin terms, with the specification that the offspring in question are offspring of an intervening relative, and not ego.

Collaterals - Zero Generation.

The terms for ego's collaterals in zero generation and the corresponding kin types are as follows:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
r-alal r-as in - ʔukwa	m+mOEm-m f+mOEm-m	a+mOEm-m
š-rabin r-as in - ʔukwa	m+mOEm-f f+mOEm-f	a+mOEm-f
š - ʔum r-anab in - ʔukwa	m+mOEf-m f+mOEf-m m+mOYf-m f+mOYf-m	a+mOf-m
š-koˀ r-anab in - ʔukwa	m+mOEf-f f+mOEf-f m+mOYf-f f+mOYf-f	a+mOf-f
r-alal r-ic'in in - ʔukwa	m+mOYm-m f+mOYm-m	a+mOYm-m
š-rabin r-ic'in in - ʔukwa	m+mOYm-f f+mOYm-f	a+mOYm-f
r-alal r-as in-naˀ	m+fOEm-m f+fOEm-m	a+fOEm-m
š-rabin r-as in-naˀ	m+fOEm-f f+fOEm-f	a+fOEm-f
š - ʔum r-as in-naˀ	m+fOEf-m f+fOEf-m	a+fOEf-m

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
š-ko? r-as in-na?	m+fOEf-f f+fOEf-f	a+fOEf-f
[illegible]-alal r-ic'in in-na?	m+fOYm-m f+fOYm-m	a+fOYm-m
š-rabin r-ic'in in-na?	m+fOYm-f f+fOYm-f	a+fOYm-f
š - ϙum r-ic'in in-na?	m+fOYf-m f+fOYf-m	a+fOYf-m
š-ko? r-ic'in in-na?	m+fOYf-f f+fOYf-f	a+fOYf-f

Again, the initial term in the formulae indicates that sex of ego is no longer a determining criterial attribute. These terms also correspond to the terms for offspring of ego's siblings, again with the added feature of marking for offspring of the first ascending generation collaterals.

Lineals: Second Ascending and Second Descending Generations

Second Ascending Generation. There are two terms of reference for kin in the second ascending generation. These and their corresponding kin types are as follows:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin Types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
in-wačin	m+f+m m+m+m f+f+m f+m+m	a+a+m
in-način	m+f+f m+m+f f+f+f f+m+f	a+a+f

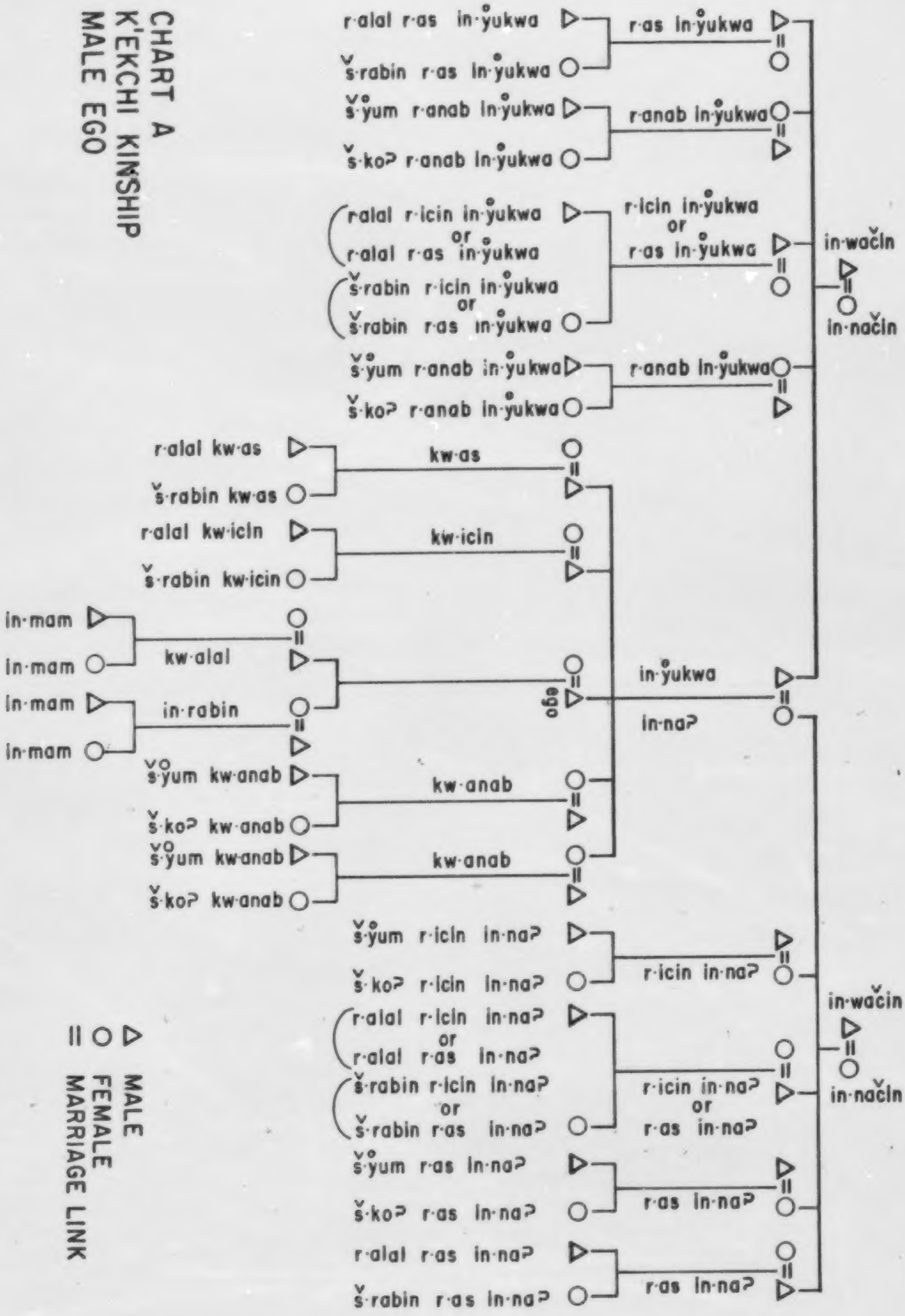
Here neither sex of intervening relative, nor sex of ego is a determining criterial attribute--only sex of referent.

Second descending generation. The term for lineals in the second descending generation and the corresponding kin types are as follows:

KIN TERM	DENOTATA (Kin types)	COMPONENTIAL DEFINITION
in-mam	m-m-m m-f-m m-m-f m-f-f f-m-m f-f-m f-m-f f-f-f	a-a-a

Here the only features of meaning are lineality and second descending

CHART A
K'EKCHI KINSHIP
MALE EGO


r·alal r·as in·ẙukwa
r·as in·ẙukwa
š·rabin r·as in·ẙukwa
š·ẙum r·anab in·ẙukwa
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š·ko? r·anab in·ẙukwa
r·alal r·icin in·ẙukwa or r·alal r·as in·ẙukwa
r·icin in·ẙukwa or r·as in·ẙukwa
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r·anab in·ẙukwa
š·ko? r·anab in·ẙukwa
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kw·alal
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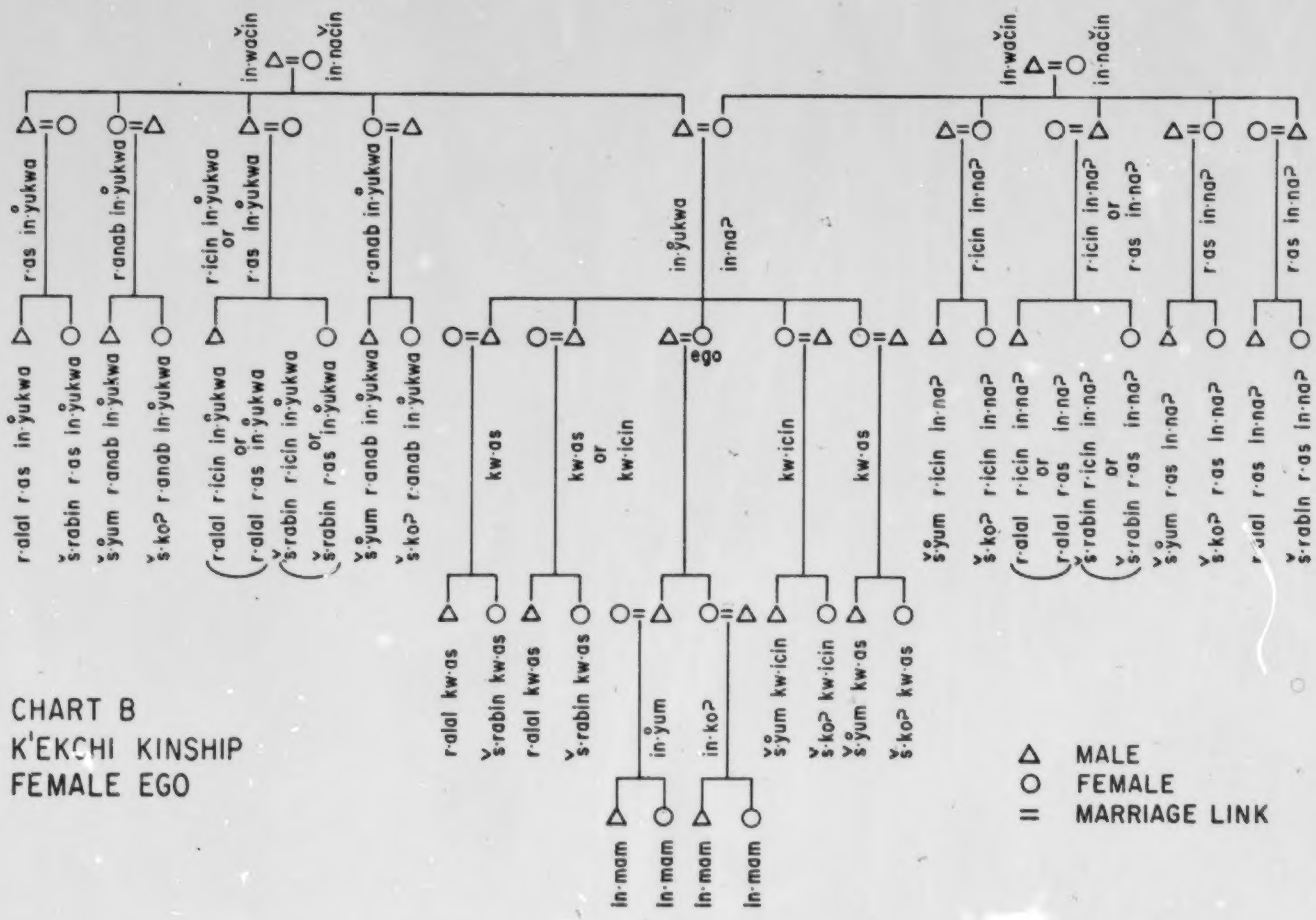
in·rabin
in·mam
ego
in·ẙukwa
in·na?
š·ẙum kw·anab
kw·anab
š·ko? kw·anab
š·ẙum kw·anab
kw·anab
š·ko? kw·anab
š·ẙum r·icin in·na?
r·icin in·na?
š·ko? r·icin in·na?
r·alal r·icin in·na? or r·alal r·as in·na?
r·icin in·na? or r·as in·na?
š·rabin r·icin in·na? or š·rabin r·as in·na?
in·wačin
in·način
š·ẙum r·as in·na?
r·as in·na?
š·ko? r·as in·na?
r·alal r·as in·na?
r·as in·na?
š·rabin r·as in·na?
△ MALE
○ FEMALE
= MARRIAGE LINK


in·wačin
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š·ẙum kw·icin
š·koʔ kw·icin
š·ẙum kw·as
š·koʔ kw·as
in·mam
in·mam
in·mam
in·mam
△ MALE
○ FEMALE
= MARRIAGE LINK

CHART B
K'EKCHI KINSHIP
FEMALE EGO

generation.

Conclusion

Analyses of a number of other Mayan kinship systems cite sex of ego as a criterion for determining who will be called what. At first glance this would appear to be true for K'ekchi as well. It is indeed the case that terms for ego's siblings and his or her offspring in the first descending generation have among their criterial attributes sex of ego. Sex of intervening relative is another criterial attribute often cited in kinship analysis, and one can correctly specify it as a criterial attribute of terms of reference for collaterals in K'ekchi. These are two appropriate and applicable criteria for handling terms of reference for consanguineals in K'ekchi. As is by now obvious, terms of reference for collaterals in K'ekchi are composite kin terms composed of the kin terms to refer to lineals and colineals. It should also be obvious that any male consanguineal who is referred to by ego as offspring of some male will be referred to by the possessive form and alal, followed by specification as to how kinship is traced to ego. The corresponding female will be rabin. So also are the terms for a female ego's offspring extended as the first kin term in the composite kin term to refer to offspring of a female. The same extension of terms takes place with sibling terms as well.

Kinship has been a central concern of anthropology, and is regarded as an important key to an understanding of the social structure of a given group. It has thus received more attention than any other aspect of social structure. However, a basic weakness in traditional kinship analysis has been its inability to capture changes in the relationships among members of the group that take place over time. Traditional analyses have been mappings of relationships that portray the individual's position vis-a-vis other members of his or her kin group as essentially fixed. While this may provide for an adequate handling and account of some kinship systems, this preliminary examination of K'ekchi kinship terms of reference reveals that such approaches ignore important changes of status within the group and thereby ignore important information on the group's social structure and organization. For example, in the discussion of sibling terms, I made reference to the different rules of usage for male and female ego when referring to younger brother. It is difficult to capture such information without investigating questions of usage. The same problem appears within the first ascending generation, on both mother's and father's side. The shift to use of the term kw-as to refer to an individual who is technically younger than ego or intervening relative calls into question the criterial attribute of relative age, the older/younger distinction. The informant has provided the distinction, but cognitively, what does it mean? Is it a question of seniority rather than age? All of this only serves to remind us that, as Buchler and Selby (1968) pointed out, componential analysis of kinship semantics must be accompanied by an examination of usage as well. The problem here is that the same individual can be referred to by two different terms. How does one handle that formally?

Footnotes

[1] Lineals: consanguineals who are in ego's descent line.

[2] Colineals: consanguineals whose ancestors are the same as ego's, but whose descendents will not be in ego's descent line. Often referred to as siblings.

[3] Collaterals: consanguineals outside ego's direct line of descent.

"LI K'ALEK, LI AW:K, UT LI Q'OLOK"

Flora Ac and Sandra Pinkerton

re li q'olok, li b'enkwa naʔušman,
For the harvest, the first (thing) one does,

naʔawman. ut re li a:wk, li b'enkwa
one plants. And for the planting, the first (thing)

naʔušman, nak'aleman. čiru li enero, natikla
one does, one clears. In the January, begins

šk'alenkil li šnaʔax li kaqi ke:nq. čiru
its-clearing the its-place the red bean. In

li febrero, naʔawman li mamaʔke:nq, li nayeman
the February, one plants the bean, what one calls

re kaqi ke:nq. čiru li marso, nasik'man
it red bean. In the March, one searches (for)

li mamaʔke:nq. ut natikla šk'alenkil šnaʔax li
the bean. And begins its-clearing its-place the

k'al ročb'en li nun ut li lol. toxonaq na:čal li
milpa with the piloy beans. Afterwards comes the

a:wk re li išim q'eq' ut ke:nq nun ut lol.
planting it the corn black and bean piloy.

čiru li mayo, naʔawman li išim saq ut
In the May, one plants the corn white and

kač'inaq čik nun ut lol. ut čiru li xunyo,
a bit other piloy. And in the June,

naraqeʔ li škaʔaw li k'al. čiru li
is finished the its-second-planting the milpa. In the

noβyembrę ut disyembrę naq'olman li k'al.
November and December, one harvests the milpa.

čiru li enero, natikla šk'alenkil li šnaʔax
In the January, begins its-clearing the its-place

li kaqi ke:nq. naq ma:xiʔ nač'eman li
the red bean. When not yet one (has) touched the

č'oč' li b'enkwa nab'anuman, napac'man šlese:ns
land the first (thing) one does, one asks his-permission

re li qakwaʔ dyos; re šč'eb'al li k'al re
him the God; for its-touch the milpa for

šk'alenkil li cu:l, o qaɣe:q li pim, re
its-clearing the mountain, or is called the brush, so

ma:k'aʔaq tišk'ul xunaq. li nak'alen
there is not it will receive anything. (Those) who clear

re, kwi:nq. nab'isman li šnaʔax ke:nq rik'in
it, (are) men. One measures the its-place bean with

k'am re šk'eb'al li tarey. xunxu:nq či mo:s
cord for giving him the assignment. Each worker

našk'ale li štarey b'arkwiʔ taʔok li ke:nq.
clears the his-assignment where will enter the bean.

načutup li pim rik'in asaron. ink'aʔ ninaw
Gathers the brush with hoe. Not I know

ma nak'atman (ta) o naʔisiman li mul. naq
if one burns or one removes the garbage. When

naraqeʔ šk'alenkil li č'oč', nakana tačto
is finished its-clearing the land, remains level

ut naɣamambnak šnaʔax li a:wk. li riɣaxil
and unoccupied (is) its-place the planting. The its-seed

li ke:nq re ʔa:wk naloq'man kwi ink'aʔ škana
the bean for planting one buys if not remained

ke:nq čok re iɣax li šsik'man čaq xunšil.
bean for seed (from) what one planted before.

nak'aman li iɣax saʔ xun č'ana čampa. ut
One takes the seed in a purse. And

nak'aman xun awlepčeˀ. nahopman li č'oč'
one takes a planting stick. One digs the earth

rik'in li awlepčeˀ ut nakutman op ru li
with the planting stick and one throws 5 grains (of) the

iy̓ax saˀ č'oč' ut nac'apman rik'in č'oč' li
seed in earth and one covers with earth the

iy̓ax. čiru xarub'aq šaman naˀaq'iman ut nab'utman
seed. In several weeks one weeds and one fills

što:nal li ke:nq naq aq ščamoˀ. arin naraqeˀ
its-stalk the bean when already is grown. Here is stopped

šseraq'inkil li a:wk re li ke:nq. naˀuyb'eniman
its-talk the planting of the bean. One waits

re tačekoq li ke:nq re šsik'b'al. ut naq
for it will mature the bean for picking it. And when

nasik'man, namič'man či to:n. nač'upman li ke:nq,
one picks, one uproots by stalk. One cuts the bean,

nač'utuman saˀ xunaq čakač. ut nak'aman čaq
one gathers in a basket. And one brings

saˀ koštal či raš re šk'amb'al saˀ tenamit.
in bag fresh for its-taking to town.

čiru li marso, natikla li k'alek ut li
In the March, begins the clearing and the

k'atok re šnaˀax li k'al. a trab'ax, aˀin,
burning for its-place the milpa. Work, this,

kwi:nq nab'anu:nk re saˀ xalan čik k'aleb'al.
men do it in another place.

naru natrab'axi li išq axkwi, kwi ma:ni li
Can work the woman also, if no one (there) the

škwinqilal. kwi li kwi:nq y̓o: čak či trab'axik
her-husband. If the man is off working

re xalan čik naru li išq tiššik' xunaq
for another can the woman find some

kristya:n tab'anu:nq re li trab'ax. eb' li
person (who) will do it the work. Plural the

kok'al nakeʔtenq'an či štrab'axinkil li č'oč'.
child help to work the land.

us ta inkʼaʔ xun taq'et (li) nakeʔšb'anu.
Although not the same what they do.

li k'atok naʔyeman re, aʔan naq
The burning (as) one calls it, this (is) when

nak'atman; nač'utuman li pim re šk'atb'al. naq
one burns; one gathers the brush for its-burning. When

nak'aleman li č'oč', li nak'anxelax re štrab'axinkil,
one clears the land, what serves for its-working,

aʔan asaron ut mačet. li asaron nak'anxelak
that (is) hoe and machete. The hoe serves

re šk'alenkil li pim xay ru ut li mačet
for its-clearing the brush small and the machete

nak'anxelak re šʔyob'al li pim b'ar kwan čam
serves for its-cutting the brush where grown

či us. naq naraqeʔ šk'alenkil li pim ut
a lot. When is finished its-clearing the brush and

šč'utub'ankil li mul toxonaq načal li k'atok.
its-gathering the garbage then comes the burning.

nak'alman či us re šrawb'al li išim. pab'axel
One clears a lot for its-planting the corn. Important

šk'atb'al li pim.
its-burning the brush.

li b'enkwa nab'anuman re šrawb'al li
The first (thing) one does for its-planting the

išim naˀišimaman. nasik'man ru li išim
corn one dehusks. One chooses a kernal (of) the corn

b'ar kwan čab'il re šrawb'al. toxonaq nač'utuman
where good for its-planting. Then one gathers

saˀ koštal, nak'eœan čiru qakwaˀ, nak'atman pom
in bag, one puts by Saint, one burns incense

saˀ šb'en, ut nak'atman škandelil, re naq čab'il
on top, and one burns its-candle, for that good

taˀe:lk. naq ŷo:kep [š] = či rišimankil li iŷax
come out. When they are dehusking it the seed

li mo:s, kwankep axkwi, li rišqilal čire šam
the worker, they are also, the their-wife near fire

re šk'ub'ankil li šcakae:mq re tekwaˀak naq
for its-preparation the its-food for they eat when

teraqeq či išimak iŷax. saˀ li kutan naq
they finish dehusking seed. On the day when

ŷo:kep či išima:nk iŷax, ink'aˀ naru ceka:nk
they are dehusking seed, not should eat

kilq'en šb'an naq nakeˀšŷe naq ink'aˀ us
fruit because they say that not good

šcekankil li kilq'en saˀ škutankil li išima:nk
its-eating the fruit on its-days the dehusking

iŷax ut a:wk. naŷeman, aˀan, šma:k naq kwi
seed and planting. One says, that, because if

nacekaman kilq'en saˀ li kutan, aˀan, šul
one eats fruit on the day that, animal

naketok re li k'al naq ŷo: či ˀaq' panok.
eats it the milpa when (it) is in bloom.

xoˀkan naq ink'aˀ nak'eman li kilq'en re
So (it is) that not one gives the fruit to

ceka:k. saˀ li a:wk nač'olaniman lax awonel
be eaten. During the planting one feeds the planters

rik'in ˀak'ač o kašlan. kwi ma:k'aˀ kašlan,
with turkey or chicken. If there is no chicken,

ma:k'aˀ ak'ač, šut' nak'eman re kwaˀak. naq
there is no turkey, bean tamales one gives for eating. When

nakeˀšik či a:wk li b'enkwa nakeˀx̌b'anu lax
they go to plant the first (thing) they do the

awonel nakeˀkwaˀak b'enkwa; čiriš čik aˀan,
planters they eat first (thing); after that,

nakeˀšik či a:wk. nak'aman li iȝax saˀ xun
they go to plant. One takes the seed in a

č'ana čampa naq nakeˀšik či a:wk lax awonel. ut
purse when they go to plant the planters. And

nak'aman xun awlepčeˀ re nak'anxelak re šhopb'al
one takes a planting stick for serving for its-digging

li č'oč' b'arkwi takutma:nq li išim. naq
the earth where one will throw the corn. When

ȝo:kep či a:wk ȝo:kep či šhopb'al li č'oč' rik'in
are they planting are they digging the earth with

li awlepčeˀ ut ȝo:kep (či) škutb'al op ru
the planting stick and are they throwing it 5 grains (of)

išim saˀ li xunxun či hopol li ȝo:kep či
corn in the each hole which are they

šhopb'al. naq nakeˀšhop li č'oč' nakeˀščap li
digging it. When they dig the earth they take the

awlepčeˀ rik'in škab'ičal ruq'. saˀ škutankil
planting stick with his-two hand. For its-day

li a:wk naˀawman axkwi li ke:nq lol ut nun.
the planting one plants also the bean piloy.

ink'aʔ	ninaw	ma	nakutman	(ta)	saʔ	li	hopol
Not	I know	if	one throws		in	the	hole

b'arkwi	šʔawman	li	išim	o	naʔawman	čišk'at
where	one planted	the	corn	or	one plants	near

b'arkwi	šʔok	li	išim.	čiru	xarub'aq	šaman
where	went in	the	corn.	During	several	weeks

šrawb'al	li	išim	nak'eman	škaʔaw.	naʔawman
its-planting	the	corn	one gives	its-2nd-planting.	One plants

xun	taq'et	xo	šʔawman	čaq	saʔ	šb'en	sut.	čiru
the	same	as	one planted		in	first	time.	During

xarub'aq	šaman	šrawb'al	li	išim,	naʔuyb'eniman	naq
several	weeks	its-planting	the	corn,	one waits	when

li	k'al	čam	kač'inaq	nak'eman	šraq'inal,	o
the	milpa	grown	a little	one gives	its-fitting,	or

šb'utb'al	što:nal	li	k'al.	li	nab'anuman	saʔ	li
its-filling	its-stalk	the	milpa.	What	one does	in	the

ʔaq'i:nk	aʔan	naq	nak'aleman	li	pim	ut
fitting	that (is)	when	one clears	the	brush	and

nab'utman	xunkwakax	što:n	li	k'al	rik'in	li
one fills	at one time	its-stalk	the	milpa	with	the

asaron.	xoʔkaʔin	naraqeʔ	šseraq'inkil	li	a:wk.
hoe.	So	is finished	its-talk	the	planting.

čiru	xarub'aq	po	šrawb'al	li	ʔišim
During	several	months	its-planting	the	corn

naʔuyb'eniman	re	šq'olb'al	čiru	li	noβyembrę	ut
one waits	for	its-harvest	in	the	November	and

disyembrę.	naq	li	k'al	šq'anoʔ	škulak	škutankil
December.	When	the	milpa	was matured	arrived	its-day

re	šq'olb'al	ut	šokb'al	li	hal.	naq
for	its-harvest	and	its-removal	the	(corn) ear.	When

naq'olman,	aʔan,	naq	natoqman	li	kwax	ut
one harvests,	that (is),	when	one breaks	the corn plant		and

nač'otman	li	hal,	saʔ	li	xunxun	či	kwax
one takes off	the	(corn) ear,	in	the	each		plant

re	štub'ankil	saʔ	xunaq	naxex	tačto,	ut
for	gathering it	in	a	place	level,	and

šb'elankil	saʔ	soq'	ut	šk'amb'al	čaq	saʔ	očoč.
carrying it	in	net	and	taking it		to	house.

ut	nakeʔštup	saʔ	šφi	li	očoč	re	špišb'al
And	they pile up	in	its-middle	the	house	for	tying it

čiru	q'oxφin	ut	re	šk'eb'al	xun	kwakax	saʔ
during	night	and	for	giving it	a	time	in

šnaʔax	štuyub'ankil	či	le:k	saʔ	šb'en	xunxun
its-place	hanging it	in	groups of 5 ears	on top (of)		each

či	čeʔ	ut	b'ar kwan	li	ink'aʔ	pišb'il,	nakutman
	beam	and	wherever	the (ones)	not	tied,	one throws

saʔ	šb'en	čeʔ.	čiru	xarub'aq	kutan	nasipteʔek	li
on top (of)		beam.	During	several	days	smokes	the

hal.	ut	arin	naraqeʔ	(šseraq'inkil)	li	q'olok.
(corn) ear.	And	here	is finished	its-talk	the	harvest.

FREE TRANSLATION

In order to harvest, the first thing one must do is to plant and in order to plant, the first thing one must do is to clear the land. In January, the clearing of the land where the red bean will be planted begins. In February, one plants what are called red beans. In March, one harvests them and begins clearing the place where the corn and the piloy beans will be planted. After this, the black corn and the piloy beans are planted. In May, one plants the white corn and some more piloy beans and in June, the second seeding of the corn field is finished. In November and December, one harvests the corn.

In January, the clearing of the land where the red bean will be planted begins. Even before one has touched the land, one asks God for permission to touch the land...to clear the mountain...to clear the brush...so nothing will happen to anything. Those who do the clearing are men. One must measure the holes for the beans with a cord which is specially used for this job. Each worker clears that portion assigned to him where the beans will be planted. He gathers the brush with a hoe. I do not know if one just burns (the area) or if one removes the garbage. When the clearing of the land is finished, there is a level, clear place left for planting. One buys seed for planting the beans if none remained from what was planted last time. One carries the seed in a purse and one uses a planting stick. One digs the earth with the planting stick and throws five grains of seed into the earth, covering the seed with earth. In several weeks, one weeds and covers the bean stalk which has grown. That is all there is to say about the planting of the beans. One waits for the beans to mature in order to pick them and when one picks them one must uproot them by their stalks. One cuts the beans and gathers them in a basket in order to bring them, fresh, in a bag to town.

In March, the clearing and burning of the corn field begins. This work is done by men in another place (the communal lands). The women can do the work too, if their husbands are not there. If the man is working elsewhere the woman can find someone else who will do the work. Children also help work the land, although they do not do the same work. The burning, as it is called, is when one burns (the lands). One gathers the brush in order to burn it. When one clears the land, one uses a hoe and a machete. The hoe is used for clearing the small brush and the machete is used for cutting the brush which has grown large. When the clearing of the brush and the gathering of the garbage is finished, then the burning starts. One does a lot of clearing for the planting of the corn field. The burning of the brush is important.

The first thing one does in order to plant the corn is to dehusk the corn. One chooses corn which will be good for planting. Then one gathers it in a bag and puts this bag near the Saint. One burns incense above it and lights a candle so that everything will go well. While the workers are dehusking the corn, their wives are by the fire, preparing food for them to eat when they finish dehusking. On the day, they are dehusking the corn, they are not supposed to eat fruit because it is said that it is not good to eat fruit on the days of dehusking and planting. It is said that if one eats fruit on these days, animals will eat the corn in the corn field when it is in bloom. So, it is said that one must not give (anyone) fruit to eat. During the planting, one feeds the planters turkey or chicken. If there is no chicken or turkey, then one serves bean tamales. When the men go out to plant, first they eat and, then, they go plant after that. The planters carry the seed in a purse when they go to plant. And they take a planting stick for digging the earth where the corn will be placed. When they plant, they dig the earth with the planting stick and throw five grains of corn into each hole they are digging. When they dig, they take the planting stick in both of their hands. They also plant piloy at this time. I do not know if one throws the piloy into the hole where one is planting the corn or whether one plants the piloy near the corn. After several weeks of having planted the corn, one reseeds. One places new seeds in the same place as one did before. One then waits for several weeks for the corn to grow a little in order to cover the roots of the plant. One weeds and covers the roots of the corn plant with a hoe. That is all I have to say about the planting.

For several months after the planting of the corn one waits for the time of the harvest which is in November and December. When the corn field is mature the time to harvest has arrived. When one harvests, one uproots the corn plant and removes the ears of corn and gathers them in a level place in order to carry them in a net to the house. They are piled up in the middle of the house for tying during the night into bunches of five ears. They are to hang for a time from the beams of the house. Those that are not tied up are thrown up on top of the beams. For several days the ears of corn smoke. That is all I have to say about the harvest.

K'EKCHI WORD LIST

Robert Freund

The following word list was compiled during a series of elicitation sessions of varying frequency extending over a period of four and one-half months. Using an elicitation list of approximately 1450 items originally compiled by Terence Kaufmann specifically for working with Mayan languages, a basic inventory of perhaps 1000 to 1200 words and expressions was obtained. This list was then reorganized so that all morphologically related forms were grouped together, and a tentative morphological analysis with putative morphological paradigms was worked out. This work was intended to provide both a data base for the morphological analysis treated in the paper on verb morphology in this volume, as well as a guide for expansion of the word list itself. Accordingly, in the second stage of elicitation an attempt was made to fill out the derivational paradigms for as many items in the list as was practicable, at the same time obtaining as many completely new items as could be gotten. This procedure was gone through several times. The resulting list contains approximately 1650 entries, of which perhaps slightly less than 70% come from the original elicitation list. I have also tried to include as many words appearing in other papers in this volume as I could, as well as all forms occurring in the accompanying K'ekchi text.

The list is presented in three sections: first, the basic root list, then a list of particles, numerals, and loanwords, and finally, an English index to the root list. No index has been provided for the lists of loanwords, particles, and numerals since they are short enough so that any form contained in them may be easily found by inspection.

The basic root list is organized around sets of morphologically related forms. For each such set, a basic root has been postulated, which serves as the main entry under which the derived stems are listed. These are printed in upper case type and are listed alphabetically. The derived stems are printed in lower case type, underlined, and listed in alphabetical order with their English translations beneath the main entry, as follows:

ROOT
stem$_1$ translation
stem$_2$ translation

In cases where only one derived stem was elicited and this has the same form as that of the proposed root, the translation has been printed directly after the main entry, e.g.:

AB$_1$ hammock

If the form of the derived stem differs from that of the root, it is listed separately, as shown above, even when only one was elicited. In cases where the morphological structure of a stem was not apparent and no related forms were elicited, I have not postulated a root, and have listed the stem alphabetically as a main entry in its own right. These stems are printed in lower case type and underlined to distinguish them from the root entries. Roots of identical shape are distinguished by subscript numerical indices. I have made no attempt to assign a semantic meaning to any of these proposed roots at this point; they are only meant to serve as class labels.

Compound nouns have been listed under at least one of the roots that go to make them up. Choice of the particular root is usually arbitrary, no consistent system having been thought of yet. In many cases it has not been determined whether or not the item is a true compound. I suspect some of them may not be.

Verb stems are represented by their corresponding verbal nouns, from which it is possible to infer all (?) of the necessary information regarding the inflectional and derivational classification of the verb stems themselves. A prefixed hyphen before an entry shows that it represents a dependent nominal stem (cf. Morphology paper this volume). This will be the case, for example, with all ergative verbal noun stems. Many consonant final stems of Conjugation II are indicated by a hyphen placed between the stem and the verbal noun ending, thus: -pa:b-ankil, although I have not been able to identify all occurrences of such stems in this list.

Translations are in English throughout, except in those cases where I was unable to find a suitable English word or was unable to find a Spanish term in the dictionaries available to me. In these cases I have let the Spanish translation stand exactly as given by the informant.

Stems in parentheses represent forms not elicited directly but inferred with a fair degree of certainty from the actual data at hand. Most of these are a group of ergative stems that were not elicited as such, but appear in a list of forms recorded for phonetic analysis and which can be assumed to represent ergative stems by virtue of their form or meaning. Doubtful forms or features are marked as such with a question mark. ¿

Root entries containing parentheses, e.g. C'AX(N) indicate that the parenthesized element appears in some parts of the derivational paradigm but not in others. I suspect these elements are a part of the root and comparative evidence indicates that this is so, but I am not able to state the conditions determining their appearance.

In many cases, the actual phonetic form of the items has not been determined with certainty. This is especially true of occurrences of long vowels, velars, and glottalized consonants. It is often hard to distinguish k, q, k', and q' in certain environments, particularly at the end of a syllable or in the vicinity of a back vowel. I have marked this uncertainty by the following notation: k/q, k'/k and the like. All instances of q and q' are probably correct, but some instances of k may really be q or q'. Similarly, some consonants marked as unglottalized may be glottalized, and some vowels shown as short may be long. The reverse is less likely. Although most of the forms have been checked at least twice, it has not been possible to do this with all of them yet, and errors undoubtedly remain.

The English-K'ekchi index is an alphabetical listing of the English translations appearing in the first section together with references to the main entries under which they appear there. It is not intended to serve as an English-K'ekchi vocabulary although it may be used in that way.

Listed below are the abbreviations and symbols used in the word list:

adj.	adjective
attr.	attributive stem
d.s.	dependent stem
erg.	ergative
i.s.	independent stem
intr.	intransitive
n.	noun
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
Sp.	Spanish
t.a.	transitive absolutive
tr.	transitive
vb.	verb
vbl. n.	verbal noun
→	cross reference

Note: all instances of b should be interpreted as /b'/.

A

Aʔ		leg
AB$_1$		hammock
AB$_2$		
	-abinkil	hear,obey s.t,s.o.
	-abiom	something heard
AB(L)		
	-ablaninkil	separate,divide s.t.
AC'AM		salt
AC'U:M		
	-ac'u:m	flower of s.t.
	r-ac'u:m šam	spark (from fire)
AČ'		
	-ač'ab-ankil	loosen s.t.
AʔIN		alligator, iguana
AK'AČ		turkey
AKWA		
	akwabex	God
	q-akwa	saint,sacred
akwok → AW		
AK'		new
AL		
	al	boy
	-alal	son of a man
	č'inaʔ-al kok'-al	young boy
	kok'-aleb	children
	šqaʔ-al	girl
	č'ana šqaʔ-al	young girl
A:L		
	a:l	heavy
	-a:lal	(its) heaviness,weight
ALAW		
	ax alaw	agouti
A:LIN		
	a:linak	run
	-a:linankil	chase s.o.
AM		
	ax am	spider
	š-kem ax am (→ KEM)	spider web
A:M		
	-a:m	soul,spirit (of the dead)
AMOČ		frog
AN		
	-anab-ankil	help,support s.o.
ANAB		
	-anab	sister
AP		
	apu:nk	blow (with the mouth)
	-apu:nkil	blow s.t.
A:Q		
	a:q	pig
	k'iceʔ a:q	peccary
aq' panok → PAN		
AQ'$_1$		
	aq'i:nk	fit
	-aq'inal	(its) fitting
AQ'$_2$		
	-aq'inkil	clear out, weed (a field)
AQ'$_3$/AK'		clothing (ropa)
	r-aq' šam	flame
AT		
	-atinkil	bathe self
	-atesinkil	bathe s.o. else
A:TIN		
	a:tin	word
	a:tinak	speak,talk -ik'in with s.o.
	-a:tinankil	speak to s.o.
	r-a:tinobal	language
AW/AKW		
	akwi:mq	sowing,sowed field
	-awbal	plant s.t.
	akwok (t.a.)	plant s.t.
	a:wk	sow,plant (intrans.)
	-akwom	planting (n.)
	awlebčeʔ	planting stick
	ax-aw	ruler,king (= Sp. rey)
AX$_1$		roasting ear of corn (elote) (→ KWAX)
AX$_2$		
	axk	wake up
	-axtesinkil	wake s.o. up
	-axsinkil	wake s.o. up

AX_3
axok (t.a.) want s.t. (no erg. vbl. n.)
na-axman it is needed

axaw → AW

AX(L)
-axlankil count s.t.
r-axlal every day
r-axlal kutan every day
r-axlal Domingo every Sunday

ayaynak groan,moan (with pain)

aʔu let's go, come (vete)

B

BAʔ gopher

BAC'_1 monkey

BAC'_2
bac'u:l toy
bac'u:nk play
-bac'u:ninkil fool around,play

BAK'
š-bak'al saʔ belt (→ SAʔ)
-bak'alal tied part (of a cord)
-bak'bal tie s.t.

BAL
-balbal twist s.t.

balalnak wander

BALAQ'
ax balaq' deceiver, trickster, wily person
-balaq'inkil deceive s.o.

BALBA hell

BA:LK in-law

BAN
-banbal cure s.o.
ax banonel doctor,healer

BA:N
-ba:n because of s.o.,s.t., by action of, by (agent)
-ba:nunkil do s.t.
ban usilal please (→ US)

BAQ
baq bone
-baqel (its) bone
baq š-tibel he is thin, skinny (→ TIB)

BAS
-basbal fold s.t.

BAT
-batašinkil wrap s.t.
-batbal wrap s.t.

BAX
bax bax strong, hard

BAXLAK/Q
baxlak/q corncob (with corn on it)
baxlak/q k'ot weasel (→ $K'OT_2$)

BAY
ba:yk be late

BE(:)
be path,road
xal be road
be:k walk
-beninkil run through/around a series of places
-beresinkil conduct (business)

BEK
-bekbal dig
bekbil haʔ well
ax bekonel digger

BEL (? → BE:?)
-belankil carry s.t. along

BE:L
-be:lom husband

BE:N
saʔ -be:n on top of,above s.t.
ben čeʔ attic,roof (tapanco)
li ben kwa the first thing (done)
ben oq } knee
ben aʔ }
ben sut first time
ben tel shoulder

BES
(-besbal) cut s.t.

BI
biom rich
biomok be rich
-biomal (his) wealthiness

BIČ		
	bič	song
	-bicankil	sing s.t.
BIQ		
	-biqbal	rub s.t.
BIS		
	-bisbal	measure,weigh s.t.
	li hu našbis kwib ons	the book weighs 2 oz.
BIT		
	-bitonkil	carry s.t. on the head
BIT'		
	-bit'bal -u	hurry up
BOC'		
	(-boc'bal)	take out s.t.
BO:K		steam,vapor
BOL		
	bolok	fold up
BON		
	bon	painting
	-bonbal	dye,paint s.t.
	-bonol	color of s.t.
BOQ		
	-boqbal	call s.o.
BOQ'		
	(-boq'bal)	loosen s.t.
BOT		
	-botbal	wind up,roll up s.t.
	botbo	rolled up
BOX		
	-boxbal	sew,embroider s.t.
	-boxolal	embroidery,seam on s.t.
	boxom	sewing,sewed material
BOYŠ		ox (< Sp. buey?)
BUK		
	(-bukbal)	mix s.t.
BUT'		
	(-but'bal)	fill s.t.
BUY		
	buy	filled heaping
	-buyub-ankil	pile up s.t.

C

CAʔAX		kind of tree
CAK_1		
	cakcak	itch(y)
CAK_2		
	cakae:mq	food
CENCEʔUL		zinzontle (bird)
COʔ		
	coʔ	male animal
	coʔ ak'ac	male turkey
COL		
	-colbal	learn s.t.
	colco	(conc)ordenado
	-colobankil	line up s.t.
	ax colonel	teacher,student
CU:L		
	cu:l	mountain
	cu:l taq'a	valley

C'

C'A		
	-c'abal	soak s.t.
	c'ao:nk	get wet
C'AB		
	c'abok	gather firewood
C'AK		
	c'ak	wall
	c'akal kab	adobe
C'ALAM		
	c'alam	rack,frame(work), prison
	c'alam čeʔ	plank,wood
C'A:M		
	ax c'a:m	suitor
	-c'a:mankil	ask for (s.o. in marriage)
C'AMBA		beam (of wood)
C'AP		
	c'ap $(\overset{?}{-})$šik	deaf person
	-c'apbal	close,cover s.t.
	c'apc'o	closed
	c'aplebal	door

C'AQ		
	c'aq	price
	kubenaq šc'aq	cheap
	terto sc'aq	expensive
	c'aqal	complete,sufficient
C'AX		
	c'axok	slap
C'AX(N)		
	c'ax	dirty
	-c'axnial	(its) dirtiness
	-c'axninkil	make dirty
	c'axnok	be dirty
C'EK		
	-c'ekankil	eat (fruits)
C'EQ		
	-c'eqbal	drop,throw down, discard
	c'eqc'o	dropped
C'EX(KW)		
	c'exkwal	body (d.s.?)
C'Iˀ		dog
C'IB		
	-c'ibenkil	bother s.o.
C'I:B		
	c'i:b	writing
	c'i:bak	write (intr.)
	-c'i:bankil	write s.t.
	c'i:bleb	pen(cil)
C'IN		sweet manioc
C'IR		
	-c'irbal	split,chop (wood)
	c'iril	cracked,split (adj)
	-c'irilal	opening,crack (in s.t.)
C'IRAY		cricket
C'OK		
	c'okak	be hungry
C'OQ		magpie
C'OY		
	(-c'oybal)	heat s.t.
C'UB		
	c'ubuk	suck,sip
	-c'ubbal	suck,sip s.t.

C'UL		braid
C'U:M		
	c'u:m	skin,leather
	-c'u:mal	skin (of s.t.)
	š-c'u:mal e	lip
	c'um (š?)-šik'	bat (→ ŠIK')
C'UMUY		custard apple (anona)
C'UNUN		hummingbord
C'UQ	(cf. C'EQ)	
	c'uquk	drip
	c'uqul	a drop of liquid

Č

ČA		
	ča sa:nk	army ant
ČA(H)		ashes
ČAB (ČIHAB)		year
	beleb čab kwan re	he is 9 yrs old.
ČABIL		
	čabil	good,useful
	čabil -č'o:l	be kind-hearted
	-čabilal	(its) usefulness
	čabilok	be good, useful
ČAČ		
	-čačunkil	strain s.t.
ČAIM		
	čaim	star
	-čaimal	(his) fortune,luck (su suerte)
ČAKAČ		small basket
ČAL		
	ča:lk	come
ČAM		
	čam	deep
	-čamal	(its) depth
	čamok	grow,get grown over
ČAN$_1$		
	čan	he said (attributive stem)
	čan-k-eb	they said

ČAN$_2$	čan ru	how?
	čančan	like,similar to
	čančan xoʔ	just like,as...as
ČAP	-čapbal	grab,sieze s.t.
	š-čapbal	its handle
ČAQ$_1$	čaq(i)	dry
	čaqik	dry out
ČAQ$_2$	čaqčaq -u	be beautiful
	-čaqail	its beauty
ČAQ'		ripe
	-čaq'benkil	answer s.o.,s.t.
ČAX	čax	pine tree
	r-u čax	pine cone
	(š)-saq čax	pine needle
ČEʔ$_1$	čeʔ	tree,wood
	awleb čeʔ	planting stick
	ben čeʔ	attic,roof
	c'alam čeʔ	wood,plank
	k'ičeʔ	forest,jungle (→ K'I)
ČEʔ$_2$	-čeʔbal -ib	bother,annoy s.o.
ČE:Q	če:q	ripeness,maturity
	če:qel	old
	če:qel kwi:nq	old man
	če:qok	be ripe,mature
ČILIʔ		cricket
ČINČIN		rattle
ČIQ'/Q	-čiq'bal	cook,put s.t. in the fire
	čiq'eq'/q	→ Q'EQ'/Q
	čire sam	→ SAM
ČOQ		cloud
ČOŠA		sky
ČOY	-čoybal	finish s.t.
ČU$_1$	ču	bad smelling
	-čual	(its) rotteness,evil smell
	čuok	stink
ČU$_2$	čuok	omen
ČUʔ	čuʔ	urine
	čuʔuk	urinate
ČU:B	ču:b	saliva
	ču:bak	spit
	-ču:bankil	spit s.t. out
ČUN$_1$		lime(stone)
ČUN$_2$	čunču	seated on the ground
	čunlak	sit down on the ground
	-čunub-ankil	seat s.o. on the ground
ČUQ' (Č'UQ'?)	čuq'ub	hiccups
	ʔo: in-čuq'ub	I have hiccups
ČUT → Č'UT$_1$		

Č'

Č'Aʔ	(-č'aʔbal)	open s.t.
Č'AʔAX		difficult
	č'ana'us	→ US
Č'A:T	č'a:t	bed
	č'a:t k'ulal	cradle
Č'AX$_1$	č'axom	a) unmarried man b) young (person)
Č'AX$_2$	-č'axbal	wash s.t.
	č'axleb	place for washing
Č'E$_1$		mosquito
Č'E$_2$	-č'ebal	touch,feel s.t., play (a stringed instrument)
	ax č'eol	player (of an instrument)

Č'EP
č'epok   dehusk

Č'EXEX   bluebird

Č'IČ'$_1$
č'ič'   metal,knife,vehicle
tuluš č'ič'   helicopter (→ TULUŠ)
šq'esnal li č'ič'   edge of knife (→ Q'ES(N))

Č'IČ'$_2$
-č'ič'inkil   bother s.o.

čikwan   kind of bird

Č'IL
-č'ilankil   scold s.o.

Č'IMA   chayote

Č'INA (cf. KAČ'IN)
č'ina   small

č'ina?al → AL

č'ina šqa?al → AL

č'ina?us → US

Č'O   rat,mouse

Č'OČ'   (cf. Č'IČ')
č'oč'   a) land,earth,soil
b) flour
c) liver
r-u či č'oč'   world

č'okwa: hello (to a man)

Č'OL
-č'olaninkil   feed s.o.
-č'olbal   widen s.t.,cut a path
-č'olokankil   explain s.t.
či -u: to s.o.
ax č'olol be   widener of roads, path cutter

Č'O:L
-č'o:l   (its/his) heart
č'o:lex   heart (i.s.)

č'ona?   hello (to a woman)

Č'OP   pineapple

Č'OT
-č'otbal   take off an ear of corn

Č'UP
-č'upbal   a) extinguish s.t. (a flame)
b) uproot s.t.

Č'UT$_1$
-č'utub-ankil   gather s.t.

Č'UT$_2$ kind of tree

Č'UY
(-č'uybal)   pinch s.t.

E

E
e   a) chin,lower part of face, jaw,mouth
b) -e (d.s.) to,for,at s.t.
uč e   tooth
c'i? e   canine tooth
šul e   molar

EČ
-eč   (his) companion
eč-kabal   neighbor

ečɛl-eh   master,owner (dueño)

EKWU
ekwu   late
eku:k   be late

EK'
-ek'ankil   feel,perceive s.t.

E:K'
e:k'a:nk   move (intr.)
-e:k'asinkil   move s.t.

-ek'u:nkil   mock s.o.

EL
eleb   place of exit
r-eleb saq'e   east
r-eleb iq'   south
elelik   flee,escape
e:lk   go out

E:LQ'
ax e:lq'   thief
e:lq'ak   steal (intr.)
-e:lq'ankil   steal s.t.

ENUP → INUP

eqla   early

H

HAʔ
haʔ water
bekbil haʔ well
ʡuʔam haʔ spring (agua nacida)
haʔhaʔ watery,thin
-haʔil (its) water,moisture
haʔok melt (intr.)
-haʔobresinkil melt s.t.

haʔʡal undefined place or time

HAB
hab rain
kawil hab rainstorm,downpour
našk'e li hab it's raining
(→ K'E)

HAČ'
-hač'bal bite s.t.

HAL
hal ear of corn
r-ismal hal cornsilk (→ IS(M))

HEL (XEL?)
-helbal spread s.t. out
helho spread out (attr.)

HIR
-hirbal sprinkle liquid on s.t.

HIŠ jaguar

HIT
-hitbal loosen,untie
hitbil loosened (result)
hitho loosened (state)

HOB
-hobbal mistreat s.o.

HONON large bee,hornet (abejón)

HOP
-hopbal make a hole in s.t.
hopol hole made in s.t.

HOY₁ -hoybal pour s.t. out (liquid)

HOY₂ -hoybankil shout s.t. (gritarlo)

HU book,paper
ilok r-u hu read

HUM
humuk cause a burning sensation (on the skin)

HUŠ whetstone

I

IB
-ib (him)self

IČAX herb,grass

IČ'
ič' nerve
ič' mul vein,artery

IK chile

(H)I:K earthquake

IK'E agave

-ik'in with,in the presence of s.o.

IK'OY small green squash

(H)IL
(h)ila:nk rest
ax ilonel healer

IL
-ilbal see s.t.
-ilobal (its) color
ilok look,look after
ilok - care for s.t.
ilok kulal care for children
ax ilol caretaker

IMUL rabbit

INUP ceiba tree

IQ'
iq' air,wind
r-eleb iq' south (→ EL)
r-okik iq' north (→ OK)
kacut-iq' rain and wind

I:Q'
i:q' burden,load
-i:q'ankil carry s.t. on the back

IS(M)
is a) wool,hair
b) blanket
c) chamarra
-ismal (his) hair

IS

is kwaʔ → KWAʔ	
-isinkil	take out,pull out

iskiʔix pur	goosefoot (apazote)

IŠ

-iš	(its) back
r-iš če	tree bark
či -iš	in back of,behind s.t.
e.g. či kw-iš	behind me

IŠIM

išim	corn
išimak	shell corn (intr.)
išimankil	shell corn (tr.)

IŠQ, IŠAQ

išq	woman
-išaqil	(his) wife

IT

-it	bottom of, buttocks of
r-it kab	roof
r-it -oq	heel
r-it -uq	elbow

IY̊AX

iẙax	seed
iẙaxi:nk	seed,sow
-iẙaxinkil	seed of s.t.
kaq iẙax	typhoid

K

KA

ka-ib	four
ka-šukut	square

KAʔ grindstone,metate (cf. KEʔ)

kaʔ šik	earring (→ ŠIK)

KAʔY

-kaʔẙankil	stare at s.t.

KAB$_1$

kab	(raw) sugar,(pane̥la)
ẙaʔal kab	honey (→ Y̊Aʔ)

KAB$_2$

ka-ʔaw	second planting (d.s.?)
kabičal	two
kablaxu	twelve

KAB(L)

kab	house,building
-kablankil	build s.t.

kacut-iq' → IQ'

KAČ'IN

kač'in	small
-kač'inal	(its) small size
kač'inaq	a little bit

KAL

kala:k	get drunk
kalaxenaq	drunk
-kaltesinkil	intoxicate s.o.

KAQ

kaq(i)	red
kaq -č'o:l	be jealous
kaqok -č'o:l	get jealous
-kaqal	(its) redness
-kaqal č'o:lex	jealousy
-kaqalinkil	hate,dislike,be covetous of s.t.
kaq iẙax	typhoid
kaq kox	cougar
kaq tuʔuy	kind of ant (red?)

KA:Q

ka:q	ray,beam (of light)
r-aq/k ka:q	thunder,lightning

KAM

-kamik	(his) death
kamenaq	dead (person)
ka:mk	die
-kamsinkil	kill s.t.
ax kamsinel	killer,murderer

KAN$_1$

-kanab-ankil	a) leave behind b) permit,allow
kanak	remain,stop
kanaxenaq	left (dejado)
-kanaxik	(his) leaving
kanaxel	s.t. left behind (?)

KAN$_2$

kan -u	he's crazy
kanok -u	go crazy

KAR

kar	fish (n.)
karik	fish (vb.)

KARB

karbak	belch

kaskabel	rattlesnake

KA(K)W
kaw strong,hard
-kakwilal (its) hardness, good health
kakwok become hard,strong
kakwuk get well,strong
kakwu:nk get ready
-kakwu:nkil prepare s.t., harden s.t.
kauresi:nk make preparations

KE
ke cold,chills,frost,snow,ice
-keal (its) coldness
keok be(come) cold

KEˀ (cf. KAˀ)
-keˀbal grind s.t.

KEL
-kelonkil pull s.t.

KEM
š-kem ax am spider web
-kembal weave s.t.
kemleb loom
ax kemonel weaver

KE:NQ a) bean(s)
b) kidney

KET$_1$ ketok hit with the hand

KET$_2$ -ketbal eat s.t. (?)

keto:mq domestic animal(s)

KEX deer

KIˀ
kiˀ sweet
-kiˀal (its) sweetness
kiˀok be sweet

KIK/K'
kik/k' blood
-kikel/kik'el (his) blood
e:l š-kik'el bleed

kilq'en (edible) fruit

KLAUŠ
klauš nail (n.)
-klaušinkil nail s.t. (vb.)

KO:
š-ko: he went

KOˀ
-koˀ daughter of a woman

KOK
kok turtle
tolokok lizard

KOK'
kok' small
kok'-al small boy (→ AL)
kok' tumin change (i.e. money)
kok' šoš smallpox

KOL
-kolbal defend s.t.

KOŠ
-košlankil think s.t.,worry
matkošlak don't worry

košib a little (bit),a few

KOX
kaq kox cougar

KUB
kubek go down
kubenaq low,cheap
kubenaq š-c'aq cheap
-kubsinkil lower s.t.

KUK$_1$ squirrel

KUK$_2$ pitcher

KU:K a) corner of house (rincón)
b) fence around a ranch

KUL
kulak arrive there
-kulaxik (his) arrival
kulaxenaq having arrived
-kulu:nkil arrive here

kulax morning
kulax kulax every day

KUR
-kurbal cut s.t. in pieces

KUŠ$_1$ kuš (nape of) neck
š-kuš -oq (his) ankle

KUŠ$_2$ kuš cough (n.)
kušbex whooping cough

KU:Š needle (< Sp. aguja?)

KUT$_1$
-kutbal throw s.t.
šatinkut či pek I threw a rock at you

KUT$_2$
kutuk bleed
škut li kw-uq' my arm bled

KU:T
ku:t bunch
-ku:tunkil hold s.t. firmly

KUTAN
kutan light,day
š-kutan hab rainy season
š-kutan saq'e dry season
-kutankil day of s.t.,light of s.t.
š-kutankil li po moonlight
-kutanobresinkil explain s.t.

KUY$_1$
kuyuk saʔ fast (vb.,t.a.)

KUY$_2$ pig

KWAʔ$_1$
kwaʔ tortilla
is kwaʔ tamale not in a corn husk (→ IS)
tibel kwaʔ food

KWAʔ
kwaʔak eat (in general)
-kwaʔbal eat s.t. (soft)

KWA
kwa time,occasion
ma xun kwa never

-kwač'in (his) grandfather

KWAL
kwal fan for the fire
-kwalunkil fan it (the fire)

kwaleb noon

KWAN
kwa:nk be,exist

KWAR
kwa:rk sleep
kwarom owl
-kwartesinkil put s.o. to sleep

KWAX corn plant,cornstalk

KWEČ
(-kwečbal) remove s.t.

KWEČ'
(-kweč'bal) argue with s.o.

KWEŠ pants

KWILIŠ swallow (bird)

KWI:NQ
kwi:nq man
-kwinqilal (her) husband

KWIQ' (W)
kwiq'lak kneel
kwiq'kwo be kneeling
-kwiq'ib-ankil make s.o. kneel

KWOʔ frog

-kwoʔoc'ocinkil tickle s.o.

KWOB
kwobak bark (vb.)

KWOC'$_1$
kwoc'ok itch(y)

KWOC'$_2$
(-kwoc'bal) break s.t. and hear it crack (like eggs,flat things)

KWOQŠ
š-kwoqš (its) foam
-kwoqšinkil boil s.t.

KWOS
(-kwosbal) cool s.t.

K'

K'A
k'a a) gall,bile
b) bitter
k'ai:nk be angry
k'aok be bitter

k'aʔak re ru some

K'A:Y
k'a:yk get accustomed

K'AB bee (abeja negra)

K'ABAʔ
-k'abaʔ (his) name

K'AK flea,chigger

	-k'a:kalenkil	watch,scrutinize s.t.
K'AL$_1$	-k'alunkil	embrace s.o.
K'AL$_2$	k'al	milpa,cornfield
	k'alebal	communal lands, village
	k'alek	clear fields,do weeding
	-k'alenkil	clear it (a field)
	k'alom	weeding
K'AM	-k'ambal	take along,bring s.t.
	k'amk'ot	intestines (→ K'OT)
K'A:M	k'a:m	aguave fiber,cord
	-k'a(:)minkil	spin s.t. out (yarn,cord)
K'AN (?)	k'ambolay	snake
	k'anti	snake
K'ANXEL	ax k'anxel	worker
	k'anxelak či -u	use s.t.
	š-k'anxelak či kw-u r-e setok tiqš	I used it for cutting cloth.
	-k'anxelankil	servirlo
	k'anxelebal	instrument for working
K'AS		debt
K'AT	-k'at	a) (its) side b) beside (it)
	k'at e	→ E
K'AX	k'ax	a) parched corn drink (pinol) b) flour
	k'axo	greatly,a lot (attr. stem)
K'AY$_1$	ax k'ay	merchant,seller
	k'aẙil	market
	-k'aẙinkil	sell s.t. -e to s.o.
	ax k'aẙinel	merchant,salesman
K'AY$_2$	k'a:yk	get accustomed
	-k'aytesinkil	accustom s.o. to s.t.

K'E	-k'ebal	give s.t.
	ti-š-k'e li hab	it's going to rain
	š-k'ebal -č'o:l	apply oneself či: to s.t.
K'I(:)	k'i:k	grow
	k'i če?	forest (→ CE?)
	k'i-če? a:q	peccary (→ A:Q)
K'IL	k'il	griddle
	-k'ilinkil	toast,fry s.t.
K'IM		a) straw b) grass for roof
K'IŠ	k'iš	thorn,spine
	k'iš ax uč	porcupine (→ UČ)
K'ON(Y)	k'onẙa:nk	limp
	k'opopo	frog
K'OS	k'os -oq	be short (of stature) (→ OQ)
	k'osk'o	short
K'OŠ$_1$		shrimp
K'OŠ$_2$/K'OŠ(L) ?	k'ošlak	think (→ KOŠ)
K'O:Š		gourd dipper (jicara)
K'OT$_1$	k'ot	excrement
	k'amk'ot	intestines (→ K'AM)
K'OT$_2$	baxlaq/k k'ot	weasel (→ BAXLAQ/K)
	mulk'ot	junebug
	muluq'ut	tadpole
K'OX$_1$		mask
K'OX$_2$	k'oxk'o	be seated
	k'oxlak	sit down
	k'oxlebal	chair
	-k'oxobankil	seat s.o.

K'OY
k'oy chicle
-k'oybal chew s.t.
k'oymut kind of bird

K'UB$_1$ k'ubk'u r-iš hunchback (→ IŠ)

K'UB$_2$ trivet,3 stones or pots around a fire (tenamaste)

K'UB$_3$ -k'ub-ankil prepare,cook s.t.

K'UČ hawk,eagle

K'UK'UM feather

K'UL$_1$ -k'ulbal take,accept,receive, meet with s.t.
k'aʔru kišk'ul li kwi:nq?
what happened to the man?
-k'ulbankil receive s.t.
-k'ulub-ankil accept s.t.
ax k'ulonel receiver

K'UL$_2$/KUL?
k'ulal baby (→ AL)

K'UM pumpkin,yellow squash

K'UN
-k'unbesinkil advise s.o. (?)

K'UŠ
-k'ušbal eat s.t. (hard or tough things)

K'UT
-k'utbal show,teach s.t. (či: to do s.t.)
k'utu:nk be visible,appear

L

LA nettle

LAC'
lac' narrow
-lac'il (its) narrowness

LAN
-lanbal wrap up,roll up s.t.

LAP
(-lapbal) bury s.t.

LAX
laxk wear out (intr.),be used up

LEC'
-lec'bal stick s.t. together

LEK spoon

LEM(C)
lem glass,mirror
lemcu:nk glow,shine (like metal in a light)

LEP
(-lepbal) throw s.t.

LOʔ
-loʔbal eat s.t. (soft things)

LOČ
-ločbal set s.t. on fire
ločlo on fire,burning

LOQ'
-loq'bal buy s.t.
ax loq'onel buyer

LO:Y acquaintance

LUB
lubk be/get tired
lublu tired

LUKUM earthworm

LUT
luteb twins

M

MAC
macil -u (his) eyebrow,lash

MAČ whiskers

MA:K
ma:k sin
-ma:k because of, by fault of an account of s.o.

mak'uy type of greens

MA:L axe

MAMAʔ
mamaʔ old man
mamaʔ-ke:nq red beans

MAP coyol palm

MAQ'
(-maq'bal) grab s.t.

MAŠ
maš kinkajou (mico)
kaq r-oq maš mico león

MAT(K')
mat dream (n.)
matk'ek dream (vb.)

matq'ab ring (→ Q'AB?)

MAXE(K)W
-maxekwankil a) throw s.t. away
b) disdain, insult s.o.

MAY$_1$
may tobacco, cigarette
-mayinkil smoke s.t.
-mayil (its) smoke (?)

MAY$_2$
may-sul treatment for cramps
-maỷexankil rub s.t.

MAY$_3$
xun may twenty

MAYEX
mayex alms
-maỷexankil offer s.t.

MEC
meco:nk squat down

MEC'EW
mec'ew strength
-mec'ekwankil hacerle fuerza

MEM mute

MES
-mesbal shake, clean s.t. (by wiping)
mesleb broom
-mesunkil sweep s.t.

MEŠ cat

MIČ'
-mič'bal uproot s.t.
š-mič'bal r-iš peel s.t.

MIK
-mikisinkil push s.t.

MIN
(-minbal) push s.t.

MI:N a small amount (< Sp.?)

MOʔ$_1$ macaw

MOʔ$_2$
moʔ rust, mould
moʔon rusty
moʔo:nk get rusty

MOC'Oʔ caterpillar

MOČ
(-močbal) shrink s.t.

MOČ'
moč' fist
moč'o:nk close the hand, make a fist
-moč'onkil grab s.t. in the hand

moko:č raincoat

MOL$_1$ egg

MOL$_2$/MOL(K')?
-molbal pick up, choose s.t.
-molk'ankil pick up, choose s.t.

MOQ
moq(k) be born, originate

MO:S servant

MOY
moỷak get dark
mo:yk get dark
moymoy cloudy, dark

MU shade, shadow

MUC'
muc' blind (person)
muc'muc'i:nk close the eyes

MUKUY pigeon

MUL
mul trash, garbage
mulk'ot june bug (→ K'OT$_2$)

MULUL water dipper (?)

muluq'ut tadpole (→ K'OT$_2$)

MUQ	
(-muqbal)	hide s.t.,bury s.t.
muqmu	hidden,buried
muquk	hide (intr.)
MUK'	
muk'mu	squatting on all fours
(-muk'ub-ankil)	make s.o. squat on all fours
muk'uba:nk -ib	squat on all 4s

N

NAʔ$_1$	
-naʔ	(his) mother
naʔbex	mother (i.s.)
NAʔ$_2$/NAʔ(W)	
naʔleb	advice,counsel,affair
k'eok naʔleb	give advice
-nawbal	know s.t.
š-nawbal li c'i:bak	know how to write
š-nawbal -u	know s.o.
naʔok	know s.t. (t.a.)
NAʔAX	
-naʔax	(its) location
naʔaxex	place
NABAL	
nabal(eb)	many,a lot
nabalok	be abundant
š-nabalo	se aumento
NAČ'	
nač'	near
nač'ok	arrive
naqter	old (of inanimate things)
NAQ'	
naq'	seed,pit,kernel
š-naq' -u	(his) eye
NAT'	
(-nat'bal)	tighten s.t.
NAX	
nax	far (away)
nax -oq	be high,tall (→ OQ)
naxaʔnaq	proudly
NEBAʔ	
nebaʔ	poor (person)
nebaʔok	be poor
nebal	patio
NIM	
nim	big
nim -u	be wide
nim -uq'	→ UQ'
nim -tibel	be fat
-nimal	(its) size
nima:nk	grow,get larger
š-niman li po	the moon is waxing
nimaʔ	river (→ NIM,HAʔ)
NOQ'	
noq'	thread
tušil noq'	cotton (→ TUŠ)
NUʔ(Bʔ)	
nuʔbal	boundary marker,fence
NUM	
numeʔk	pass by
li čab š-numeʔ	last year
-numsinkil	cross over s.t.
numal	corn husk (→ HALʔ)
numšik	swim
NUN	
nun ut lol	piloy (beans)
NUQ'	
(-nuq'bal)	swallow s.t.
NUX	
nuxenaq	full

O

OBEN	tamale
OČBEN	
očben	companion
-očben	(together) with s.o., s.t.
-očbeninkil	accompany s.o.
OČOČ	house
OH	avocado
OK	
ok	go in, begin (či to do s.t.)
ok či haʔ	drown
okebal	doorway
-okik	(its) place of entry,entry
r-okik iq'	north
r-okik saq'e	west
okil haʔ	drowning
-oksinkil	put s.t. in (saʔ into s.t.)

OKOŠ mushroom

OQ
-oq (his) foot,leg,shin
r-it -oq (his) heel
š-kuš -oq (his) ankle
r-uˀux -oq (his) toe
š-ʔi -oq arch of (his) foot
oqex a foot,leg,shin

OQEČ forked pole

ˀOR (< Sp. hora)
ˀor hour,time
-ˀoril (its) time,time for s.t.
š-kulak š-ˀoril re tinšik
it's time for me to go

ˀOS
ˀosoˀk be finished,used up, run out
-ˀosoxik (its) end,the last of s.t.

otoˀoy snake

OX
ox a cold
oxobak cough

P

PA
-pabal break s.t. open (like a large flat surface)
pa:po broken open

PAˀAT twins (fruit) (?)

PA:B
-pa:b-ankil believe s.t.

pabaxel important (attr. stem)

PAC'$_1$
-pac'bal ask for,request s.t.
š-pac'bal -lese:ns ask permission for s.o.,r-e to do st.
-pac'lenkil ask about s.t.
pac'ok ask questions

PAC'$_2$
pac'il śa:b sandal (→ ŠA:B)

PAC'$_3$
-pac'ab-ankil mash s.t.
pac'po mashed

PAČAČ cockroach

PAČ'
(-pač'bal) sprinkle s.t.

pač'aʔa grass (grama)

PAK
-pakab-ankil lay s.o. down face upwards
pakpo lying with face up

PAK'
-pak'bal fashion s.t. out of clay

PALAW lake

PAN
aq' panok be in bloom

PAQ'
(-paq'bal) mash s.t.

PAR
-parbal scratch s.t.

PA:R skunk

PATA(H) guava

PAX
-paxinkil spill s.t. (corn)

PAY
(-paybal) order s.t.

PA:Y class,kind (clase)
xun pa:y šul a kind of animal

PEC'
pec'lak sit on the ground with knees drawn up

PEČ$_1$
ax peč carpenter

PEČ$_2$
(-pečbal) fold s.t. up flat

PEČ'
(-peč'bal) remove s.t.

PEKEM forehead

PEL (?)
ax pelpel frog

PEPEM butterfly

peremal basilisk

PEX
-pexbal tear,rip s.t. (like paper)

PIC'
(-pic'bal) mash s.t.

PIČ' woodpecker

PIM
pim a) underbrush,short growth
b) thick
-pimal (its) thickness,thick growth

PIQ'
(-piq'bal) scrape s.t.

PISK'
pisk'ok jump,hop

PIŠ$_1$ wart

PIŠ$_2$
piš stingy
pišok be stingy

PIŠ$_3$
-pišbal tie s.t.
-pišilal knot in s.t.
pišpo tied,knotted

pletik fight -ik'in with s.o.

PO
po moon,month
š-niman li po the moon is waxing,crescent (→ NIM)
š-y̓oʔla li po the moon is new (→ YOʔ)
š-šorok li po the moon is full (→ ŠOR)
-poil (its) month,month of s.t.

POʔ
-poʔbal destroy s.t.
poʔeʔk fall apart,be disarranged
poʔk fall apart,be disarranged
poʔok fall apart,be disarranged

POC'
-poc'bal hit s.t. with the palm of the hand

POČ'
poč' corn meal tamale cooked in husk or baked on the edge of the fire (in the husk)
-poč'bal crush s.t. (corn)
poč'il is kwaʔ corn tamale (tamale de elote) (→ IS,KWAʔ)

POKS dust

PO:L
-po:lenkil scorch s.t.

POM
pom incense,copal
-pombal roast s.t.

POʔOT blouse,huipil

PO:P
po:p mat
sayil po:p → SAY

POS
pos lungs
pospoy lungs

POX pus

PU:B
pu:b gun
-pu:b-ankil shoot s.t.

PUČ'
-puč'bal wash s.t. (clothes)
ax puč'onel washerwoman

(na-)pumput it beats (the heart)

PUNIT hat

PUQ'
(-puq'bal) mix s.t.

PUR
puruk grind corn

purqa:k snail

PUX
pux crop of a bird
pux-puy puyujero bird

Q

QAČ
(-qačbal) bite off s.t.

qay̓e:q called

QU:L vine

Q'

Q'A bridge

Q'AB (? = hand?)
mat-q'ab ring (on finger)

Q'AN
q'an yellow
q'an-ra small green frog (sapillo)
q'an-ʔax yellow fever (+ YAX)
q'anok mature,ripen

Q'A(Y)
q'aynak/q rotten

Q'E
q'e time(?)
q'e kutan long ago,ancient times
ax q'e fortune teller
q'eik predict the future
-q'eil (its) time,time for s.t.

Q'EM corn dough

Q'E:M fertilizer

Q'EQ/Q'
q'eq'/q black,blue
či-q'eq'/q night
-q'eq'al (its) blackness
q'eq-či K'ekchi

Q'ES(N)
q'es rough
-q'esnal (its) roughness
š-q'esnal li č'ič' edge of the knife

Q'ET
(-q'etbal) break s.t. (like by stepping on a board with a crack in it.)

Q'IČ
(-q'ičbal) tear s.t.

Q'IL sunflower

q'inkun lazy

Q'IR
-q'irok despedazar

Q'OL$_1$ jewelry

Q'OL$_2$
-q'olbal harvest s.t.
q'olok harvest (n.)
ax q'olol harvester
ax q'olonel harvester

Q'OL$_3$
š-q'ol čeʔ sap,pitch (of a tree)

Q'OQ'$_1$ white squash

Q'OQ'$_2$
q'oq'e:nk be punished
q'oq'o punished
-q'oq'onkil punish s.o.

q'oxʔin darkness

Q'OY
(-q'oybal) scratch s.t.

Q'UN$_1$
q'un soft
q'un -u smooth
-q'unal (its) softness
-q'unbesinkil soften s.t.
q'unok be(come) soft

Q'UN$_2$
-q'unbal carry (a child) in the arms
ax q'ununel one who carries a child

Q'UN$_3$
(-q'unbenkil) contemplate s.t.

Q'UQ'
q'uq' quetzal
ʔe q'uq' quetzal feathers

Q'UŠ moss

Q'UT wattle and daub

Q'UY
(-q'uybal) uproot s.t.

R

RA$_1$
ra pain
ra -č'o:l be sad
ra -xolom have a headache
-rail (its) painful quality
š-rail č'o:lex sadness
railal suffering
-railankil do s.t. with difficulty

RA$_1$ (cont.)	raoʔk	become painful
	raoʔk -č'o:l	become sad
RA$_2$	š-rabal -u	love s.o.
	rabal	something desirable
RAʔAL		snare,trap,deadfall
RABIN	-rabin	(his) daughter (of a man)
RAČ	(-račbal)	sprinkle s.t.
RAM$_1$	-ramom	su atajado
	ax ramonel	atajador
RAM$_2$	(-rambal)	pound s.t.
RAP	(-rapbal)	hit s.t.
RAQ	-raqbal	finish s.t.,use s.t. up
RAR(E/I)	rare	sour
	rarikil	hot,spicy
RAŠ	raš	a) green (color) b) raw,unripe
	raš ke	corn fritter
	raš ϙat	fly (n.)
	raš ϙob	malaria
RE:Č		personal defect
REQ	-reqbal	lick s.t.
retalil		sign,photograph
RIN	(-rinbal)	pull s.t.
RU	ru:k	be able (+ vbl. n.)
	ma na-ru: na-ϙeman a a:tin aʔin?	can you say this word?
RUČ	š-ruč e	beak,bill (of a bird)
RUM$_1$		hog plum (jocote)
RUM$_2$	(-rumbal)	throw s.t.
RUP	rupupik	fly

S

SAʔ	saʔ	a) stomach b) in
	saʔ pek	cave
	š-saʔ -uq'	palm of hand (→ UQ')
	či saʔ	inside
SA:	sa:	tasty,delicious
	sa: saʔ -č'o:l	he's happy
	-sa:il	(its) flavor
	š-sa:il -č'o:l	happiness
	saoʔk	be(come) tasty
	saoʔk -č'o:l	be(come) happy
SAB	š-sab haʔ	swamp,bog
SAČ	-sačbal	lose s.t.
	-sačbal saʔ -č'o:l	forget s.t.
	š-in-sač saʔ in-č'o:l	I forgot it
	sačok	make a mistake
SAK	-sakab-ankil	erect s.t. (a building)
SA:K	ax sa:k	grasshopper
saklun		clay
SAK'	-sak'bal	strike s.t. (pegarle)
saltul		zapote (→ TUL?)
SAM		snot
SAMAIʔ(B?)		sand
SA:NK		ant
	ča sa:nk	army ant
SA:P	-sa:punkil	grab s.t. from s.o.

SAQ
saq(i) white
saq bač hail
saq -u be clean
saqi uk' body louse
saq-ŷol kind of tree
saqok be white,clean
-saqobresinkil whiten s.t.
saq-bin weasel
saqi-kil heron

SAQ'E (< SAQ + Q'E?)
saq'e sun
r-eleb saq'e east (→ EL)
r-okik saq'e west (→ OK)
saq'e:wk be(come) dawn

SAS thick (of liquid)

SAX young

SAY
say kind of plant like hemp or sisal
sayil po:p mat made out of say,petate (→ PO:P)

saŷiˀ small banana

saŷub kind of brush

SEˀ
seˀ laughter
seˀek laugh
-seˀenkil laugh at s.t.

SEB clay

SE:B
se:b light (of weight)
-se:bal (its) light weight

SEK' cup

SE:L gourd

SERAQ'
seraq'(i) story
-seraq'inkil narrate s.t.

SET
-setbal slice,cut s.t. (like cloth or paper)

SET'
(-set'bal) gnaw s.t.

SI
si gift
-sinkil give s.t. as a gift

SIˀ
siˀ firewood
siˀik gather firewood

SIB
sib smoke,soot
-sibel (its) smoke (e.g. coming out of a volcano)
sibteˀek smoke (vb.)

SIK
sikirk be(come) numb

SIK(L)
siklik smoke (tobacco)

SIK'
-sik'bal pick s.t. (fruit), seek,choose s.t.

SILIP small brown mushroom

SIP tick

SI:P swollen,swelling

SIS
-sisankil put firewood to burning

SISON nit,chicken louse

SOB
-sobbal sink s.t.,support s.t.
soblak sink (intr.)
-sobob-ankil make s.t. sink
sobol something mashed
sobso soft,sunken

SOˀSOL buzzard

SOC' bat

SOK nest

SON music,tune

SOQ' carrying net

SOT$_1$
sotlak lie down face up
-sotob-ankil lay s.o. down face up
sotso lying face up

SOT$_2$
-sotonkil confess s.t.

SU gourd dipper

SUʔ
-suʔusinkil give s.t. back

SUL
sulul mud

SUM
-sumenkil answer s.t.
sumla:k get married
sumlaxenaq married
-sumub-ankil marry s.o. (to s.o. else)

SUQ mosquito (not zancudo)

SUQ'
-suq'esinkil turn s.o. back
suq'ik return

SUR
sursu circular

SUT_1 neckerchief

SUT_2
sut time,occasion
xun sut once,one time
-sutbal twirl,turn s.t.

SUT_3
-sutbal blow the nose
e.g. š-in-sut I blew my nose

suxew fog,frost

Š

ŠAʔAN old woman

šaʔaw (→ ŠAKW)

ŠAKW
šaʔaw vomit (n.)
šakwak vomit (vb.,n.)
šakwa:nk vomit

ŠALAW pajaro pitorreal

ŠAM(L)
šam fire
šam šul firefly
-šamlel (its) fire

ŠAN brick

$ŠAQ_1$
šaq leaf
(š-)šaq čax pine needle

$ŠAQ_2$
-šaqab-ankil set s.t. up
šaqlik stand up
šaqso standing up

ŠAX
šaxok dance (vb. and n.)

ŠAʔ̊A:W
šaʔ̊a:w anatto,achiote
-šaʔ̊awil (its) achiote

ŠEʔ
šeʔ root
šeʔ-to:n ancestors (→ TO:N)

ŠE/ŠEB?
-šebesinkil frighten,injure s.o. (?)

ŠEY
šeʔ̊a:nk plant (vb.)

ŠI(K)
šik go

ŠIK ear

ŠIK'
šik' wing
c'u(:)m (š-)šik' bat (→ C'U:M)

ŠIT
-šitinkil repair,mend s.t.

šiw }
šiwsiw } → ŠUKW/ŠIW

ŠIʔ̊AB comb

ŠOK
-šokbal pick up,gather s.t.

ŠO:K
ax šo:k scorpion

ŠOL
šolol throat

šoʔqaqab rainbow (→ HAB?)

ŠOR
šorok make tortillas
š-šorok li po the moon is full

ŠOŠ
šoš sore,ulcer,pimple,boil
kok'šoš smallpox

- ŠOT(K')
  - šotk'ok   choke on food
- ŠOX
  - ax šox
soxob } coyote
- ŠUBAY   brush
- ŠUK   corner of house (esquinera)
- ŠUKUB   horn (of an animal)
- ŠUKW/ŠIW
  - šiw   fear
  - siwšiw   dangerous
  - sukwak   be afraid
- ŠUKUY   rib
- ŠUL
  - šul   animal
  - sulil: k'aʔru či šulil leʔ? what kind of an animal is that?
  - šulel se:r   honeybee
  - sam sul → ŠAM(L)
- ŠUŠ(B)
  - šušbak   whistle
  - -susb-ankil
    - sinsusba   le silbé a él
- ŠUTAN
  - šutan   shame
  - sutanak   be ashamed
- ŠUT'   bean fritter,tamale
- ŠUQ'   quarterstaff

T

- taʔok → TAW
- TA:B   tumpline
- TAČ
  - tačto   level
- TAK
  - taktak   weak
- TAM
  - ta:mk   increase
- TAP   crawfish,crab
- TAQ
  - ax taq   messenger
  - taqeʔk   go up
  - -taqlankil   send s.o.
  - -taqsinkil   send s.t. up
- TA:Q
  - (-ta:qbal)
-ta:qenkil } follow s.o.
- TAQ'A
  - taq'a   flat
  - cu:l taq'a valley (→ CU:L)
- TAS   partition
- TA:S   bunch of bananas
- tatat -e   stammer (→ E)
- TAW
  - taʔok (t.a.)
-tawbal } find s.t.
  - -tawbal r-u   understand s.t.
- TE
  - -tebal   open s.t.
  - teto   open (attr.)
- TEL$_1$
  - tel   arm
  - ben tel   shoulder
- TEL$_2$
  - telom   male
- TEN
  - (-tenbal)   strike s.t.
- tenamit   town
  - š-φi tenamit   the center of town
- TENQ'
  - ax te:nq'   helper
  - ax tenq'anel   assistant
  - -tenq'ankil   help s.o.
- tiʔok → TIW
- TIB
  - tib   meat
  - -tibel   (its) flesh
  - tibel kwaʔ   food (comida)
- TIK$_1$/TI:K
  - ti:k   upright,straight, straightaway
  - -tikisinkil   push s.t.
  - -tikobresinkil   line s.t. up
  - tikok   be upright

TIK$_2$	tikti	lie,untruth
	tiktiʔik	tell lies
TIK$_3$/TIK(L)	tiklak	begin to do s.t. (+ vbl. n.)
TIM	timil	slow
TIQ	(-tiqbal)	add s.t.
TIQŠ/TIQR		cloth
TIQ(W)	tiq	hot
	tiqwal	
	-tiqwal	(its) warmth
	-tiqwasinkil	heat s.t.
	tiqwok	heat up
TIQ'$_1$	tiq'o(b)	sweat (n.)
	tiq'obak	sweat (vb.)
TIQ'$_2$	(-tiq'bal)	stick self
TI:Š	ti:š	old person
	ti:šil	old (of people)
TIW	tiʔok (t.a.)	bite s.t.
	-tiwbal	
TIX	tix	prayer
	-tixbal	give s.o. a good education (?)
	tixok	pray
TOB	(-tobbal)	zafar,quebrarlo
TOČ/TOČ'	(-točbal)	hit s.t.
TOQ	-toqbal	break s.t. (in 2 or more pieces)
	toqol	broken
	toqol -oq	one-legged
	toqol -uq'	one-armed
TOL$_1$	-tolob-ankil	lay s.o. on his side

TOL$_1$ (cont.)	tolto	lying on one's side
TOL$_2$	tolol	injured
tolokok → KOK		
TO:N	to:n	trunk,stalk
	-to:nal	(its) trunk,stalk
	š-to:nal kape	coffee plant
TOʔON	-toʔoninkil	lend,borrow s.t.
TOP	(-topbal)	jab s.t.
TOX	-toxbal	pay s.o.
TRABAX (< Sp.)	ax trabax	worker
	trabaxik	work (vb. and n.)
TUʔ	tuʔ	chest,woman's breast
	tuʔuk	suck the breast
TUʔUY	kaq-tuʔuy	kind of ant
TUB	-tubbal	pile up s.t.
	-tub-ankil	
	tubtu	piled up,in a heap
TUK	tuktu	arranged,in order
TUL$_1$	tul	banana
	č'ol tul	large plantain
	saqi tul	white banana, plantain
TUL$_2$	ax tul	witch (brujero)
	tulak	witchcraft
TU:LAN		tame
TULUŠ	tuluš	dragonfly
	tuluš č'ič' (→ Č'IČ')	helicopter

TUMIN	tumin	money
	kok' tumin	(small) change
	xačok tumin	make change (→ XAČ)
TUP	tupuk	smash,burst,explode
TUQ'	tuq' išq	unmarried woman
TUS	tustu	naked
	-tusub-ankil	undress s.o. (self)
TUŠ$_1$		female animal
TUŠ$_2$	tuš	knot
	tušil noq'	cotton (→ NOQ')
TUY/T'UY	tuytu	hanging up,suspended
	-tuyub-ankil	hang s.t. up

T'

T'AN	t'anal	fallen,knocked over
	-t'anbal	knock s.t. down
	t'aneˀk	fall
	t'anenaq	fallen
	-t'anik	(its) fall
	ax t'anol ax t'anonel	one who knocks s.t. over
T'AQ	t'aqak	get wet (mojarse)
	t'aqt'aq	wet
	-t'aqt'aqal	(its) wetness
T'AY	t'ayt'ay	sticky
T'Eˀ	-t'eˀbal	wash s.t. in a stream
	t'eˀt'o	carried along by a stream
T'IL	t'i:lk	get stuck
T'ISIM	t'isimak	sneeze
T'IW		eagle
T'OB	-t'obbal	hurt s.o.
T'OQ	-t'oqbal	throw s.t. soft (like dough or mud)
T'OR	-t'orbal	make s.t. round
	t'ort'o	spherical
T'UP	t'upul	burst,torn

U

U	-u	a) (his) face,surface b) to,for,on,at s.t.
	r-u čax	pinecone
	r-u išim	grain of corn
	r-u šam	coals,embers,charcoal
UBEL	-ubel	below s.t.
UČ'	-uč'bal	smell s.t.
	r-uč'bal -u	kiss s.o.
UC'AL		reed,sugar cane
	uc'uˀux	flower (→ UC', UˀUX)
UČ	ax uč	oppossum
	k'iš ax uč	porcupine (→ K'IŠ)
UK'$_1$		head louse
UK'$_2$	-uk'bal uk'ak (t.a.,intr)	drink s.t.
	uk'al	pot
	-uk'alil	the pot for s.t.
UL	ulul	brains (d.s.?)
U:L		ditch
ULAˀ	ulaˀ	visit (n.)
	-ulaˀankil	visit s.o.
UP	upu	lying face down
	-upub-ankil	lay s.o. down face downward

UʔUX		
	-uʔux	(his) nose
	r-uʔux ak'	tongue
	r-uʔux neba	patio
	r-uʔux oq	toe
	r-uʔux uq'	finger,thumb
	yo: r-uʔux	he's snoring
U:Q		skirt
UQ'		
	-uq'	(his) hand
	c'e uq'	left hand
	nim uq'	right hand
UQ'UN		corn meal mush (atol)
US		
	us	good
	us ta	although
	usilal	favor,goodness
	ban usilal	please
	č'anaʔus č'inaʔus	pretty,nice,agreeable
	č'anaʔusal	(its) prettiness,etc.
	ci us	very (much)
	ma us	the devil
UŠ		
	ušk	happen
	nekeʔ-uš r-e	it happened to them
	-ušbal	do s.t.
UY		
	-uybeninkil	wait for s.o.
	uybe:nk	wait

X

XAʔ		
	xaʔoʔk	be rancid,spoiled (meat)
XAČ		
	-xačbal	split s.t.
	—— li tumin	make change for it
	—— siʔ	cut firewood
	-xačinkil	take s.t. apart
XAL		
	-xalbal	(ex)change,alter s.t.
	xalok	moult,change clothes
	xalan xala:nk	different, distinct
xal-be → BE		
XAP		
	? xapok e	shout
	xapi:nk e	yawn
XAY		
	xay	thin (delgado)
	xay -u	small
	-xayil	(its) thinness
XAỶ		
	-xaỷal	(its) direction
XEB		
	(-xebbal)	diminish s.t.
XI		live oak
XIČ'		
	-xič'inkil	notch s.t.
XIL		
	xilok	approach
XIQ		
	(-xiqbal)	approach s.t.
XIQ'		
	-xiq'bal	suck s.t. in, (respirarlo)
	xiq'ok (t.a.)	breathe
	xiq'ok -č'o:l	sigh
XIS		
	(-xisbal)	shred it (meat)
XIT		
	-xitbal	complain about s.t.
	xitok	complain
XIT'		
	(xit'bal)	tie s.t. (amarrar)
XO		
	xoleb	razor
	xook	shave
XOʔT		
	xoʔtok	molestar
XOB		
	-xobenkil	dig s.t. (for s.t.?)
XOČ		
	xočok	scratch,scrape
XOL(K')		
	xolk'ok	slip,slide
	-xolk'osinkil	make s.t. slippery

XOLOM
xolom head
ra -xolom have a headache

XO:M gourd

XOR
-xorbal break s.t.
xorol broken

XOSQ'
xosq' mean,angry
-xosq'il (his) anger
-xosq'obresinkil anger s.o.
xosq'ok be(come) angry

XOT'
(-xot'bal) scrape s.t.

XUK
xuk long
-xukil (its) length
xukxu -oq be long

XUKUB canoe (→ XUK?)

XUL hole

xumbaqš moist

XUN
xun one
xun pat soon
saʔ xun pat suddenly
xun sut once,one time
xun sut čik once more,again
ma xun kwa never
ci xun kwakax all at once
xuneliq always
s-xunes only
ci-xunil all
xunšilax formerly
xunšilax čaq long ago
xun taqet the same
xunxu:nk every,each

xunt'oqš moist (XUN?,T'OQ?)

XUY
-xuybal mix s.t.

ʔ

ʔAʔ
ʔaʔal liquid
ʔaʔal kab honey (→ KAB$_1$)

ʔA:B
ʔa:b tears,weeping,cry (n.)
ʔa:bak weep

ʔAC'
(-ʔac'bal) crush s.t.

ʔAK$_1$ fox

ʔAK$_2$
ʔakok negociar

ʔAK'
ʔak'ʔo long and lanky

ʔAL
-yalbal taste s.t. (probarlo)

ʔA:L
ʔa(:)l truth
-ʔa:lal (its) truth,truth about s.t.

ʔAM
(-ʔambal) serve s.t. (s.o.?)

ʔA:NK
-ʔa:nk } between s.t.
saʔ -ʔa:nk } between s.t.

ʔAT
raš-ʔat fly (n.)

ʔAX
ʔax sick
q'an ʔax yellow fever
-ʔaxel (his) illness
ʔaxerk get sick

ʔE$_1$ tail

ʔE$_2$
-ʔebal say s.t.
-ʔebal naq say that ...
ʔeok r-e call s.t. by a name

ʔEʔ
ʔeʔok extend

ʔEK'/Q'(?)
-ʔek'bal step on s.t.,kick s.t.

ʔEQ (=ʔEK'?)
ʔeq -oq be crippled

ʔI
-ʔi (its) middle
š-ʔi tenamit → tenamit
š-ʔi -oq arch of (his) foot
š-ʔi -uq' palm of (his) hand

Y̊IB		
	ẙib	something repulsive
	ẙib -u	be ugly
	ẙibok	become repulsive
	-ẙibobal	(its) repulsive quality
	š-ẙibobal -u	(its) ugliness
Y̊I:B		
	-ẙi:b-ankil	make s.t.
ẙitoq		waist (→ OQ?)
Y̊Oˀ		
	ẙoˀlak	be born
	š-ẙoˀla li po	the moon is new
	ẙoˀla:k	live
	ẙoˀẙoˀ	alive
Y̊O:$_1$		
	ẙo:k ẙook	hunt s.t.
Y̊O:$_2$		
	ẙo:	progressive auxiliary (attr. stem)
	ẙo: či be:k	he's walking
Y̊OB$_1$		
	raš ẙob → RAŠ	
Y̊OB		
	ẙobok	drink
-ẙobal → -ẙok'bal (Y̊OK')		
Y̊OK (= Y̊OK'?)		
	-ẙok'bal	cut s.t. off
	ẙok kuš poˀot	embroider a blouse
Y̊OK'		
	-ẙok'bal	wound s.t.
	ẙok'olal	wound (n.)
Y̊OL$_1$		
	saq ẙol	kind of tree
Y̊OL$_2$		
	ẙolẙol	slippery
Y̊OQ'		
	(-ẙoq'bal)	make masa
Y̊OT$_1$		
	š-ẙot r-ib	scar
Y̊OT$_2$		
	ẙotẙot	strong and flexible
Y̊OX		
	ẙoxẙo	handful
Y̊Uˀ		
	-ẙuˀbal	stretch s.t.
ẙuˀam haˀ → HAˀ		
Y̊UK$_1$		goat (cabra,not chivo)
Y̊UK$_2$		
	-ẙukankil	mix s.t.
Y̊UKWA		
	-ẙukwaˀ	father of s.o.
Y̊UK'		
	ẙuk'ẙu	high
Y̊UL		
	-ẙulbal	rub s.t.
Y̊UM		
	-ẙum	son of s.o. (a woman)
Y̊UN		
	-ẙunẙu	stretched (?)
Y̊UT		
	-ẙutbal	wrap s.t.

ADDENDA

ADD the following root entries:

ALI		
	-ali	daughter-in-law
AS		
	-as	(his) older brother
	asbex	the/an older brother
BAČ'		
	(-bač'bal)	twist s.t.
CUK(L)		
	-cuklenkil	tangle s.t.
C'E		
	c'e uq'	left hand
	saˀ c'e	on the left
ČAČ'		
	-čač'abenkil	scatter s.t.
ČI:N		orange
ČOQ		
	čoqi:nk	noise (bulla)
IC'IN		
	-ic'in	(his) younger brother
KOS		
	kosk	get well
KWAK(L)		
	-kwaklesinkil	raise s.t.
K'OS$_2$		
	k'osk	diminish
MAM		
	-mam	(his) grandchild
NAČIN		
	-način	(his) grandmother
NIM$_2$		
	nim uq'	right hand
	saˀ nim	on the right
ŠO:LB		flute
TIC'		
	tic'k	get bored
XAQ'		
	xaq'eˀk	suffocate
XAŠ		gizzard
Ẏ̌I$_2$		
	-ẏ̌i	sister-in-law

ADD the following word entries:

-c'abal	soak s.t. (→ C'A)
c'aok	get wet, soak (→ C'A)
čeˀk'am	plant (in general) (? → ČEˀ)
išiˀix	fingernail, toenail
komon	parent
koreč	tortilla
kulak či-u	like (→ KUL)
nakulak čikwu	I like it
k'ax pek	gravel, pebble (→ PEK)
li	definite article 'the'
mal kaˀan	widow
mišk	from today, a while ago
ninq'e	feast, fiesta (→ NIM, Q'E)
petet	spindle
sačk	lose (→ SAČ)
se:b -č'o:l	intelligent (→ Č'O:L, SE:B)
ax tel č'o:l	widower
ti:šk	get old (→ TI:Š)
r-uq' kaˀ	pestle (→ KAˀ, UQ')
r-uˀux li ku:š	point of the needle (→ UˀUX)
-xoltikankil	remember s.t.

CORRIGENDA

C'EK should be CEK

čikwan appears out of order between Č'IČ'$_2$ and Č'IL. It should appear after ČE:Q and before ČILIˀ.

K'A:Y appears out of order between *k'aˀak re ru* and K'AB. It should be deleted here. It appears in order further on.

KOŠ should be deleted from the list of roots and its sub-entries placed under K'OŠ$_2$.

In all cases where /b/ is written, it should be read as /b'/.

English-K'ekchi Root Index

A

(be) able	RU
abundant	nabal
accept	K'UL$_1$
accompany	OČBEN
accustom	K'A:Y$_2$
acquaintance	LO:Y
add	TIQ
adobe	C'AK
advise	NAʔ, K'UN
afraid	ŠUKW/ŠIW
afternoon	EKU
agave	IK'E
agave fiber	K'A:M
agouti	ALAU
air	IQ'
alive	Y̊Oʔ
all	XUN
alligator	AʔIN
almost	XUN
alms	MAY$_3$
alter	XAL
although	US
always	XUN
anatto	ŠAY̊AU
ancestors	ŠEʔ,TO:N
angry	XOSQ', K'A
animal	ŠUL
ankle	K'UŠ,OQ
annoy	C'IB,ČEʔ, Č'IČ'$_2$
ant	SA:NK,TUʔUY
appear	K'UT
apply self	K'E
approach	NAČ'(?),XIL,XIQ
arch of foot	Y̊I,OQ
arm	TEL
armadillo	IBOY
arrange	K'UB, TUK
arrive	KUL
ash	ČA
ashamed	ŠUTAN
ask	PAC',C'A:M
atajar	RAM$_1$
attic	BEN
avocado	OH
axe	MA:L

B

baby	K'UL$_2$
back	IŠ,SAʔ
banana	TUL
bark	ČEʔ,IŠ,KWOB
basilisk	peremal
basket	ČAKAČ
bat	C'U:M,ŠIK',SOC'
bathe	AT
be	KWAN
beak	RUČ
beam (light)	KA:Q
(wood)	Č'AMBA
bean	KE:NQ,MAMAʔ, NUN,LOL,ABAS, ŠUT
beat (heart)	na-pumput
beat → hit	
beauty	ČAQ$_2$
because	BA:N,MA:K
bed	Č'A:T
bee	ŠUL,SER,K'AB
before	XUN
begin	OK,TIK$_3$
belch	KARB
believe	PA:B
belt	BAK'
big	NIM
bile	K'A
bird	ŠUL
bite	HAČ,TIW,QAČ
bitter	K'A

black	Q'EQ
blackberry	TOKAN
blanket	IS
bleed	EL,KIK',KUT
blind	MUC'
blood	KIK'
bloom	PAN
blouse	POʔOT
blow	AP
blow nose	SUT$_3$
blue	Q'EQ
bluebird	Č'EXEX
body	C'EXKWAL
boil	KWOQŠ
bone	BAQ
book	HU
(be) born	YOʔ, MOQ
borrow	TOʔON
bottom	IT
boundary marker	nuʔbal
boy	AL
braid	C'UL
brains	UL
bread	KWA
break	KWOC$_2$,PA,Q'ET,TOQ,TOB,XOR
breast	TUʔ
breathe	XIQ'
bridge	Q'A
brick	ŠAN
bring	K'AM
broom	MES
brush	PIM,ŠUBAY
build	SAK
building	KAB(L)
bumblebee	HONON
bunch	KU:T,TA:S
burn	K'AT,LOČ,SIS
burst	TUP,T'UP
bury	MUQ,LAP
bus	Č'IČ'

butterfly	PEPEM
buttock	IT
buy	LOQ'
buzzard	SOʔSOL

C

call	BOQ,Y̊E
canine tooth	E
canoe	XUK(UB)
car	Č'IČ'
care for	IL
carpenter	PEČ$_1$
carry	BEL,BIT,IQ',Q'UN
carrying net	SOQ'
catch	ČAP
caterpillar	MOC'Ôʔ
cave	PEK,SAʔ
center	Y̊I
chair	K'OX
change	XAL,TUMIN,KOK',XAČ
chamarra	IS
charcoal	U,ŠAM(L)
chase	A:LIN
chayote	Č'IMA
cheap	KUB,C'AQ
cheek	K'AT,E
chest	TUʔ
chew	K'OY
chicken	KAŠLAN
chicle	K'OY
chigger	K'AK
chile	IK
chills	KE
chin	E
choke	ŠOTK'
choose	SIK',MOL$_2$
chop	C'IR
cigarette	MAY$_1$
circular	SUR
class	PA:Y
clay	saklun,Č'OČ'

clean	SAQ,MES,
clear (fields)	K'AL,AQ'$_2$
close	C'AP
close eyes	MUC'
close hand	MOČ'
cloth	TIQŠ/R
clothing	AQ'$_3$
cloud	ČOQ,MOY
coal(s)	U,ŠAM
cockroach	PAČAČ
coffee plant	TO:N
cold	KE,OX
color	IL,BON
comb	ŠIYAB
come	ČAL
communal lands	K'AL
companion	EČ,OČBEN
complain	XIT
complete	C'AQ
confess	SOT$_2$
contemplate	Q'UN$_3$
cook	ČIQ'
cool	KWOS
cord	K'A:M
corn	IŠIM
corn stalk	KWAX
corn (ear)	HAL
corn (grain)	U,IŠIM
corncob	baxlak/q
corn dough	Q'EM
corn drink	K'AX
corn fritter	RAŠ,KEʔ
corn husk	numal
corn (leached)	BUČ
cornmeal mush	UQ'UN
cornsilk	IS,HAL
corner	KU:K,ŠUK
corpse	KAM
cotton	TUŠ,NOQ'
cougar	KAQ,KOX
cough	KUŠ$_2$,OX
count	AX(L)
cover	C'AP
coyol palm	MAP
coyote	ŠOX
crab	TAP
cradle	Č'A:T
crawfish	TAP
crazy	KAN
crescent	NIM,PO
cricket	C'IRAY,ČILIʔ
cripple	ẎEQ,OQ
crop (bird's)	PUX
cross	NUM
crush	POČ',ẎAC'
cry	ẎA:B
cup	SEʔK
cure	BAN,(H)IL
custard apple	C'UMUY
cut	XAČ,SIK',KUR,ẎOK,SET
cut a path	Č'OL
	D
daily	AX(L)
dance	ŠAX
dangerous	ŠUKW/ŠIW
dark	MOY,MU,q'oxẏin
daughter	RABIN,KOʔ
daughter-in-law	ALIʔ
dawn	SAQ'E
day	KUTAN
dead	KAM
deadfall	RAʔAL
deaf	C'AB,ŠIK
death	KAM
debt	K'AS
deceive	BALAQ'
deep	ČAM
deer	KEX
defect	RE:Č
defend	KOL

dehusk	Č'EP,IŠIM
desirable	RA$_2$
destroy	POʔ
devil	US
die	KAM
different	XAL
difficult	RA$_1$,Č'AʔAX
dig	BEK,XOB
diminish	XEB
dipper	K'O:Š,SU
direction	XAY̊
dirty	C'AX(N)
discard	C'EQ
disdain	MAXE(K)W
ditch	U:L
divide	AB(L)
do	BA:N,UŠ
do business	BE(:),Y̊AK$_2$
doctor	BAN
dog	C'Iʔ
domestic animal	keto:mq
door	C'AP
doorway	OK
dragonfly	TULUŠ
dream	MAT(K')
dress self	XAL
drink	UK',Y̊OB
drip	C'UQ
drop (n.)	C'UQ
drown	HAʔ,OK
drunk	KAL
dry	ČAQ$_1$
dry season	KUTAN,SAQ'E
dust	POKS
dye	BON

E

each	XUN
eagle	K'UČ,T'IW
ear	ŠIK
early	EQ'LA
earring	kaʔšik
earth	Č'OČ'
earth jar	KUK$_2$
earthquake	(H)I:Q
earthworm	LUKUM
east	EL,SAQ'E
eat	KWAʔ,CEK,TIW,K'UŠ,LOʔ
egg	MOL
elbow	IT,UQ'
embarrass	ŠUTAN
embrace	K'AL$_1$
embroider	BOX
enough	C'AQ(ʔ)
enter	OK
envious	KAQ
escape	EL
every	XUN
exit	EL
expensive	C'AQ
explain	Č'OL,KUTAN
explode	TUP
extinguish	Č'UP
every	XUN
eye	NAQ', U
eyebrow	MAC,U
eyelash	

F

face	U
fall	T'AN
fall apart	POʔ
fan	KWA:L
far	NAX
fashion out of clay	PAK'
fast (vb.)	KUY
fast (adv.)	XUN
fat	NIM
father	ẙukwa
favor	US

fear	ŠUKW/ŠIW
feather	K'UK'UM
feces	K'OT$_1$
feed	Č'OL
feel	Č'E,E:K
fell	T'AN
female	IŠQ,TUŠ
fence	nuˀbal
fertilizer	Q'E:M
festival	ninq'e (NIM,Q'E)
few	koˀšib
fever	TIQ(W)
fill	BUT',BUY,NUX
find	TAW
finger	UˀUX,UQ'
finish	ČOY,RAQ,OS,LAX
fire	ŠAM(L)
firefly	ŠAM(L),ŠUL
firewood	SIˀ
cut firewood	XAČ
gather firewood	SIˀ,C'AB
split firewood	C'IR
first	BE:N,XUN
fish	KAR
fist	MOČ'
fit	AQ'$_3$
flame	AQ',ŠAM(L)
flash	LEM(C)
flat	TAQ'A
flavor	SA:
flea	K'AK
flee	EL
flesh	TIB
flour	Č'OČ',K'AX
flower	AC'U:M,uc'uˀux
flute	ŠO:LB
fly (vb.)	RUP
fly (n.)	RAŠ,Y̊AT
foam	KWOQŠ
fog	SUXEW
fold	BAS,BOL,PEČ$_2$
follow	TA:Q
food	cakae:mq,KWAˀ
fool around	BAC'$_2$
foot	OQ
forehead	PEKEM
forest	K'I,ČEˀ$_1$
forget	SAČ
forked pole	oqeč
(on all) fours	MUK'
fox	Y̊AK$_1$
frame	C'ALAM
frighten	ŠEB
frog	AMOČ,KWOˀ,k'opopo,PEL
frost	KE
fruit	kilq'e:n
fry	K'IL
full	BUY,NUX
full moon	ŠOR,PO

G

gall	K'A
garbage	MUL
gather	Č'UT
gift	SI
girl	AL
give	K'E,SI
gizzard	XAŠ
glass	LEM(C)
glow	LEM(C)
gnaw	SET'
go	ŠIK,EL,š-ko:
go in	OK
go out	EL
go up	TAQ
go down	KUB
go back	SUQ'
goat	Y̊UK
God	AKWA
good	US,ČABIL
goosefoot	iskiˀix pur

gopher	BAˀ
gourd	XO:M,SU,SE:L,K'OŠ(?)
grab	ČAP,MAQ',MOČ',SA:P
grain of corn	U,IŠIM
grandchild	MAM
grandfather	*kwač'in*
grass	IČAX,*pač'aʔa*,K'IM
grasshopper	SA:K
grave	MUQ
greet	A:TIN
green	RAŠ
greens	IČAX
griddle	K'IL
grind corn	PUR
grindstone	KAˀ
groan	*ayaynak*
ground	Č'OČ'
grow	K'I
grow over	ČAM
gun	PU:B

H

hail	SAQ
hair	IS(M)
half	*ʔixač*
hammock	AB
hand	UQ'
handful	Y̊OX
hang	TUY
happen	K'UL,UŠ
happy	SA:,Č'O:L
hard	KAW,BAX,Y̊OT,Č'AˀAX
harvest	Q'OL
hat	*punit*
hate	KAQ
hawk	K'UČ
head	XOLOM
head louse	UK'$_1$
hear	ABI
heart	Č'O:L
heat	C'OY,ČIQ'/Q,TIQ(W)
heavy	A:L
heel	IT,OQ
helicopter	TULUŠ,Č'IČ'
hell	BALBA
help	AN,TENQ'
herb	IČAX
heron	SAQ
hiccup	ČUQ'UB
hide	MUQ
high	NAX,Y̊UK'
hit	PIC',RAP,SAK',TEN,TOČ/Č'
hog plum	RUM$_1$
hold firmly	KU:T
hole	HOP,XUL
hollow	HOP
honey	Y̊Aˀ,KAB
horn	ŠUKUB
hot	TIQ(W)
house	KAB(L),OČOČ
hunchback	K'UB$_1$,IŠ
hunger	C'OK
hungry	
hunt	ʔ̊O(:)
hummingbird	C'UNUN
hurry	BIT'
hurt (intr.)	RA$_1$ (→ injure)
husband	BE:L,KWI:NQ

I

ice	KE
iguana	AˀIN
important	*pabaxel*
in-law	BA:LK
incense	POM
increase	TAM
injure	ŠE,TOL$_2$,T'OB,XOˀT
insult	MAXE(K)W
intelligent	SE:B,Č'O:L
intestines	K'AM,K'OT
itch	CAK,KWOC',KAC

J

jab	TOP
jaguar	HIŠ
jaw	E
jealous	KAQ,Č'O:L
jewelry	Q'OL$_1$
jump	PISK'
junebug	K'OT$_2$
jungle	K'I(:)

K

Kekchi	Q'EQ
kerchief	SUT
kernel	NAQ'
kidney	KE:NQ
kill	KAM
king	AW
kinkajou	MAŠ
kiss	UC'
kitchen	ŠAM(L)
knee	BE:N,OQ
kneel	KWIQ'
knock down	T'AN
knot	PIŠ$_3$,TUŠ
knife	Č'IČ'
knife edge	Q'ES(N),Č'IČ'
know	NAʔ$_2$

L

lake	palaw
language	A:TIN
last night	ekwer,Q'EQ/Q'
last year	NUM
late	BAY,EKU
lazy	q'inkun
leaf	ŠAQ
learn	COL
leather	C'U:M
leave	KAN$_1$
leg	Aʔ,OQ
lend	TOʔON
let	KAN$_1$
level	TAČ
lick	REQ
lie	PAK,SOT,TOL,UP;TIK$_2$
light (vb.)	LOČ
light (n.)	KUTAN
light (adj)	SE:B
lightning	KA:Q
like	ČAN
like (vb.)	KUL
limp	K'ON(Y)
line up	COL,TIK$_1$
lip	C'U:M,E
liquid	Y̊Aʔ
listen to	ABI
little	Č'IN,KAČ'IN,KOK', MI:N, XAY
live	KWAN,ẎOʔ
live oak	XI
liver	Č'OČ'
lizard	KOK
load	I:Q
log	TO:N
long	NIM,XUQ,Y̊AK'$_2$
long ago	XUN
look (at)	IL
look for	SIK'
loom	KEM
loosen	AČ',HIT,BOQ'
lose	SAČ
a lot	k'axo,nabal,US
louse	UK',SISON
love	RA$_2$
low(er)	KUB,(TAQ')
luck	ČAIM
lungs	POS

M

macaw	MOʔ
magpie	C'OQ

malaria	RAŠ,Y̊OB
male	COʔ,TEL
man	KWI:NQ
many	nabal
market	K'AY
marriage	SUM
marry	
mash	PAC',PAQ',PIC'
mask	K'OX$_1$
master	ečal e
mat	PO:P
mature	ČE:Q
mean	XOSQ'
measure	BIS
meat	TIB
medicine	BAN
meet with	K'UL$_1$
melt	HAʔ
mend	ŠI:T
merchant	K'AY
message	TAQ
messenger	
metal	Č'IČ'
middle	YI
milpa	K'AL
mirror	LEM
misdeed	MA:K
mistake	SAČ
mistreat	HOB
mix	BUT,PUQ',XUY,Y̊UK
moan	AY
mock	EK'
molar	ŠUL,E
money	TUMIN
monkey	BAC'$_1$
month	PO
moon	
more	baiʔus,k'axo,nabal
morning	kulax
mosquito	Č'E,SUQ
moss	Q'UŠ
mother	NAʔ
mould	MOʔ$_2$
moult	XAL
mountain	CU:L
mouth	E
move	E:K'
mud	SUL
murder(er)	KAM
mushroom	SILIP
music	SON
mute	MEM

N

naked	TUS
name	K'ABAʔ,Y̊E
nape of neck	KUŠ$_1$
narrate	SERAQ'
narrow	LA:C'
near	NAČ'
necessary	AX$_3$
neck	KUŠ$_1$
needle	AX$_3$
needle	KU:Š
neighbour	EČ
nerve	IČ'
nest	SOK
nettle	LA
never	XUN
new	AK'
new moon	Y̊Oʔ,PO
nice	US
night	Q'EQ/Q'
nit	SISON
noise	E:K'
noon	kwaleb
north	IQ',OK
nose	UʔUX
notch	XIČ'
numb	SIK
nurse	TUʔ

O

obey	ABI
offer	MAY$_3$
old	ČE:Q,MAMAʔ,ŠAʔAN,TI:Š,naqter
(be ____ yrs. old)	ČAB
one-armed	TOQ,UQ'
one-legged	TOQ,OQ
only	XUN
open	Č'Aʔ,TE
opening	C'IR
oppossum	UČ
order	PAY
over	BE:N
owl	KWAR
ox	BOYŠ

P

pain	RA$_1$
paint(ing)	BON
palm (of hand)	ʔI,UQ',SAʔ
pants	KWEŠ
paper	HU
pass (by)	NUM
path	BE(:)
patio	nebal
pay	TOX
peccary	A:Q
peel	MIČ'
pencil	C'I:B
perceive	E:K'
permit	KAN$_1$
photograph	retalil
pick	MOL$_2$,MOLK',SIK',ŠOK
pig	A:Q,KUY$_2$
pigeon	MUKUY
pile up	TUB
pimple	ŠOŠ
pinch	Č'UY
pine	ČAX
pineapple	Č'OP
pine cone	ČAX,U
pine needles	ČAX,ŠAQ
pit	NAQ'
pitcher	KUK$_2$
place	NAʔAX
plant	AW,ČEʔKAM
plantain	TUL
play	BAC'
play an instrument	AP,Č'E
please	US,BAN
poor	NEBAʔ
porcupine	K'IŠ,UČ
possible	RU:
possum	UČ
pot	UK'
pound (vb.)	RAM$_2$
pour	HOY$_1$
pray(er)	TIX
prepare	KAW
pretty	US
price	C'AQ
prison	C'ALAM
protect	KOL
proudly	naxaʔnaq
pull	KIL,RIN
pumpkin	K'UM
punch	HOP
punish	Q'OQ'$_2$
pus	POX
push	MIK,MIN,TIK
put in	OK
put out	ČUP

Q

quetzal	Q'UQ'
quarterstaff	ŠUQ'

R

rabbit	IMUL
rack	C'ALAM
rain	HAB

rainbow	šoʔqaqab
raincoat	moko:č
rainstorm	HAB,IQ'
rainy season	HAB,KUTAN
raise	ŠOK
rat	Č'O
rattlesnake	kaskabel
raw	RAŠ
ray	KA:Q
razor	XO
read	HU,IL
ready	KAW
receive	K'UL$_1$
red	KAQ
reed	UC'AL
remove	KWEČ,PEČ'
rest	HIL
return	SUQ'
rib	ŠUKUY
rich	BI
ring	matq'ab
ripe	ČAQ',ČE:Q
river	nimaʔ (NIM,HAʔ)
road	BE(:)
roast	POM
roasting ear	AX$_1$
rock	PEK
roll up	BOT,LAN
roof	BE:N,IT,KAB(L)
root	ŠEʔ
rotten	q'aynak/q
rough	Q'ES(N)
rub	BIQ,MAY$_2$,Y̊UL
ruler	AW
run	A:LIN,BE(:)
rust	MOʔ$_2$

S

sad	RA$_1$
saint	AKWA
saliva	ČU:B
salt	AC'AM
same	XUN
sand	SAMAI(B)
sandal	PAC',ŠA:B
sap	Q'OL
say	Y̊E
scar	ẎOT
scold	Č'IL
scorpion	ŠO:K
scorch	PO:L
scratch	PAR,PIQ',XOČ,XOT'
seam	BOX
seat	ČUN,K'OX
see	IL
seed	IY̊AX
self	IB
send	TAQ
separate	AB(L)
servant	MO:S
sew	BOX
shade	MU
shake	MES
shame	ŠUTAN
shave	XO
shell corn	IŠIM
shin	OQ
shine	LEM(C)
shoot	PU:B
short	K'OS
shoulder	BE:N,TEL
shout	HOY$_2$,XAP
show	K'UT
shrimp	K'OŠ$_1$
shrink	MOČ
sick	Y̊AX
side	K'AT
sigh	XIQ'
sign	retalil
sin	MA:K

sing	BIČ
sink	SOB
sip	C'UB
sister	ANAB
sit	ČUN,K'OX,PEC'
size	NIM
skin	C'U:M
skinny	BAQ
skirt	U:Q
skunk	PA:R
sky	ČOŠA
slap	C'AX
sleep	KWAR
slice	SET
slip	TOB,XOL,XOL(K'),Y̊OL
slow	TIM
small	Č'IR[illegible]IN,KOK',XAY
smallpox	KOK',ŠOŠ
smash	TUP
smell	UC',ČU
smoke	MAY$_1$,SIB,SIK(L)
smooth	Q'UN,U
snail	purqa:k
snake	K'AN,otoˀoy
snare	RAˀAL
sneeze	T'ISIM
snore	UˀUX
snot	SA:M
snow	KE
soak	C'A
soft	Q'UN,SOB
son (of man)	AL
(of woman)	Y̊UM
song	BIČ
soon	XUN
soot	SIB
sore	ŠOŠ
soul	A:M
sour	RARE
south	EL,IQ'

sow	AW
spark	AC'U:M,ŠAM(L)
speak	A:TIN
spherical	T'OR
spider	AM
spider web	AM,KEM
spill	HOY,PAX
spin (yarn)	K'A:M
spine	K'IŠ
spirit	A:M
spit	ČU:B
split	C'IR,XAČ
spoil	XAˀ
spoon	LEK
spread	HEL
spring	HAˀ
sprinkle	HIR,PAČ',RAČ
square	KAB,K'AY
squash	IK'OY,K'UM,Q'OQ'$_1$
squash seed	sakil
squat	MEC,MUK'
squirrel	KUK$_1$
stalk	TO:N,KWAX
stammer	tatat re
stand	KAN$_1$,ŠAQ
star	ČAIM
stare	KAˀY
start a fire	LOČ
stay	KAN$_1$
steal	ELQ'
steam	BO:K
step on	YEK'/Q'
stick self	TIQ'$_2$
stick together	LEC',T'AY,T'IL
stiff	ČEK
stingy	PIŠ$_2$
stink	ČU
stomach	SAˀ
stone	PEK
stop	KAN$_1$

story	SERAQ'
straight	TI:K
straightaway	
strain	ČAČ
straw	K'IM
street	BE(:)
strength	MEC'EW
stretch	Y̊Uʔ,Y̊UN
strong	BAX,KAW,Y̊OT
student	COL
suck	C'UB,XIQ'
suddenly	XUN
suffocate	XAQ'
sugar	KAB
sugar cane	UC'AL
suitor	C'A:M
sun	SAQ'E
sunflower	Q'IL
support	SOB
surface	U
swallow (n.)	KWILIŠ
swallow (vb.)	NUQ'
swamp	HAʔ,SAB
sweat	TIQ'$_1$
sweet	KIʔ
sweet manioc	C'IN
sweet potato	IS
swell up	SI:P
sweep	MES
swim	numšik

T

tadpole	K'OT$_2$
tail	Y̊E$_1$
take	K'UL$_1$
take along	K'AM
take apart	XAČ
take off an ear of corn	Č'OT
take out	BOC',IS
talk	A:TIN
tamale	POČ',OBEN,ŠUT'
tame	TULA:N
tangle	K'A:M
taste	Y̊AL
tasty	SA:
teach	K'UT
teacher	COL
tear (vb.)	PEX,Q'IČ,QIR,XIS
tell stories	SERAQ'
thick	PIM,SAS
thief	ELQ'
thin	BAQ,XAY,HAʔ
think	K'OŠ
thorn	K'IŠ
thread	NOQ'
throat	ŠOL
throw	KUT,LEP,RUM,T'OQ
throw away	MAXE(K)W
thumb	UʔUX,UQ'
thunder	KA:Q
tick	SIP
tickle	-kwoʔoc'ocinkil
tie	BAK',PIŠ$_3$,XIT'
tighten	NAT'
time	KUTAN,KWA,OR,Q'E,SUT
tire(d)	LUB
toad	Q'AN,k'opopo (→ frog)
toast	K'IL
tobacco	MAY$_1$
toe	OQ,UʔUX
tongue	AK',UʔUX
tooth	E, UČ
eye tooth	C'Iʔ,E
molar	E,ŠUL
top	BE:N
tortilla	KWA,KOREČ
make tortillas	ŠOR
touch	Č'E
town	tenamit
toy	BAC'$_2$
trash	MUL
tree	ČEʔ

trivet	K'UB
trunk	TO:N
truth	ʔA:L
tumpline	TA:B
turkey	AK'AČ
turn	SUQ'
turtle	KOK
twins	LUT
twirl	SUT
twist	BAČ',BAL
typhoid	IʔAX,KAQ

U

ugly	ʔIB
uncover	TE
under	UBEL
understand	TAW
undress	TUS
unmarried (man)	C'ĀX
(woman)	TUQ'
unripe	RAŠ
upright	TI:K
uproot	Č'UP,MIČ',Q'UY
urin(at)e	ČUˀ
use	K'ANXEL
used up	IL,LAX,OS
useful	ČABIL

V

valley	CU:L,TAQ'
vehicle	Č'IČ'
vein	IČ'
very	k'axo,US
vine	QU:L
visible	K'UT
visit	ULAˀ
vomit	ŠAKW

W

waist	ʔitoq
wait	UY
wake	AX$_1$
walk	BE(:)
wall	C'AK
wander	balalnak
want	AX$_3$
warm	TIQ(W)
wart	PIŠ$_1$
wash	Č'AX,PUČ',T'Eˀ
wasp	Č'UB
watch	IL,-k'a:kalenkil
water	HAˀ
wattle and daub	Q'UT
waxing moon	NIM,PO
weak	TAK
wealth	BI
weasel	BAXLAK/Q,K'OT$_2$,SAQ
weave	KEM
weed	AQ',K'AL
weep	ʔA:B
weigh(t)	BIS
well	BEK,HAˀ
west	OK,SAQ'E
wet	C'A,T'AQ
whetstone	HUŠ
whiskers	MAČ
white	SAQ
whistle	ŠUŠB
wide	NIM
wife	IŠQ
wind	IQ'
wind up	BOT
wing	ŠIK'
wipe clean	MES
witch(craft)	TUL$_2$
with	OČBEN
woman	IŠQ
wood	C'ALAM,ČEˀ
woodpecker	PIČ
woods	K'I,ČEˀ
wool	IS(M)

word	A:TIN
work	K'ANXEL
world	Č'OČ'
worry	K'OŠ$_2$/KOŠ
wound	YOK'
wrap	BAT,LAN,Y̊UT
wrist	KUŠ,UQ'
write	C'I:B

Y

yawn	XE,XAP
year	ČAB
yellow	Q'AN
yellow fever	Q'AN,Y̊AX
yesterday	ekwer
young	Č'AX,SAX,AL

Z

zapote	TUL

LOANWORDS

The source language is Spanish unless otherwise indicated. The source word is given in parentheses after the main entry.

a:m	(alma?)	soul
-ami:q	(amigo)	(his) friend
answel	(anzuelo)	fishhook
a:nš	(ajo)	garlic
anum	(Lat. anima??)	ghost
azaron	(azadón)	hoe
asukr	(azúcar)	sugar
a:wt	(auto)	car
ba:nk	(banco)	bank
ba:s	(vaso)	glass
bentan	(ventana)	window
bo:ls	(bolsa)	sack,bag
bo:yš	(buey)	ox
bu:r	(burro)	burro
bwe:lt	(vuelto)	change
čiba:t	(chivo)	goat
čokola(:)t	(chocolate < Sp. or Nahuatl?)	chocolate
diap/tyap	(diablo)	devil
duras	(durazno)	peach
eskaler	(escalera)	ladder
eskwel	(escuela)	school
(sant)-igles	(iglesia)	church
kaden	(cadena)	necklace
kakaw	(cacao)	cacao
kakway	(caballo)	horse
ka:lt	(caldo)	soup
kamis	(camisa)	shirt
ka:mp	(campo)	field
kamposa:nt	(camposanto)	cemetery
kandel	(candela)	candle
kandil	(candil)	lamp
Kantel	(Candelaria)	personal name
kape	(café)	coffee
karet	(carreta)	cart,wagon
karner	(carnero)	sheep

kašon	(cajón)	box
kitar	(guitarra)	guitar
klauš	(clavo)	nail (n.)
koet	(cohete)	fireworks
komaðr	(comadre)	co-mother
kompaðr	(compadre)	co-father
koral	(corral)	corral
košti	(costilla)	rib
kostal	(costal)	gunny sack
kristian	(cristiano)	person
kubet	(cubeta)	bucket
kula(:)ntr	(culantro)	coriander
ku:š	(aguja?)	needle
kwakaš	(vaca)	cow
kwe:nt	(< dar se cuenta)	watch out
lamu:nš	(limón)	lime
la:s	(lazo)	rope
lat	(lata)	tin can
law	(llave)	key
lecuy	(lechuga)	lettuce
lew	(legua)	league (measure)
li:m	(lima)	lime (fruit)
mačet	(machete)	machete
mansan	(manzana)	apple
mantek	(manteca)	butter
marim	(marimba)	marimba
marti	(martillo)	hammer
me:š	(mesa)	table
me:t	(limeta?)	bottle
mu:l	(mula)	mule
nabax(?)	(navaja)	pocket knife
ʔor	(hora)	hour
orn	(horno)	oven
pa:l	(pala)	shovel
pa:nk	(banco)	bench

pa:ps	(papa)	potato
patuš	(pato)	duck
pelot	(pelota)	ball
pera	(pera)	pear
perax	(peraje)	shawl
perexil	(perjil)	parsley
pla:t	(plato)	dish
pletik	(pleito)	fight (vb.)
pora	(ampolla)	blister
pox	(pus)	pus
pur	(puro)	cigar
pwe:rs	(fuerza)	force
pwe:rt	(puerta)	door
repoy	(repollo)	cabbage
rued	(rueda)	wheel
sandi	(sandía)	watermelon
sa:nt	(santo)	saint
seboy	(cebolla)	onion
se:d	(seda)	silk
seme:nt	(cemente)	cement
sepi	(cepilla)	brush
se:r	(cera)	beeswax
serbes	(cerveza)	beer
sier	(sierra)	saw
sipres	(ciprés)	cypress
šabon	(jabon)	soap
šaman	(semana)	week
šar	(jarro)	jug (with a handle)
tambor	(tambor)	drum
taša:nš	(tasajo)	a measure
te:š	(teja)	tile
tišer/tixer	(tijeras)	scissors
to:nt	(tonto)	stupid
traw	(trago)	liquor
tren	(tren)	train
trigo	(trigo)	wheat
ʔew	(yegua)	mare

NUMERALS

	CARDINAL	ORDINAL
1	xun	š-be:n
2	kwib	š-kab
3	ošib	r-oš
4	kaib	š-ka:
5	ob	r-o:
6	kwaqib	š-kwaq
7	kuqub	š-kuq
8	kwaqšaqib	š-kwaqšaq
9	beleb	š-beleb
10	laxeb	š-laxeb
11	xunlaxu	
12	kablaxu	
13	ošlaxu	
14	ka:laxu	
15	o:laxu	
16	kwaqlaxu	
17	kuqlaxu	
18	kwaqšaqlaxu	
19	beleʔlaxu	
20	xunmay	
21	xun š-kaʔk'al	
22	kwib š-kaʔk'al	
23	ošib š-kaʔk'al	
24	kaib š-kaʔk'al	
30	laxeb š-kaʔk'al	
40	kaʔk'al	
50	laxeb r-ošk'al	
60	ošk'al	
70	laxeb š-ka:k'al	
80	ka:k'al	
90	laxeb r-o:k'al	
100	o:k'al	
120	kwaqk'al	
140	kuqk'al	

NUMERAL ROOTS

Root	Form	Meaning
BELE	beleb	9
	š-beleb	9th
KA	kaib	4
	š-ka:	4th
	ka:laxu	14
	ka:k'al	80
KAB	š-kab	2nd
	kaʔkal	40
	kabaxer	2 days ago
	kabex	2 days from now
KUQ	kuqub	7
	š-kuq	7th
	kuqk'al	140
	kuqlaxu	17
KWAQ	kwaqib	6
	š-kwaq	6th
	kwaqlaxu	16
	kwaqk'al	120
K'AL	kaʔk'al	40 (2 x 20)
	o:k'al	60 (3 x 20)
	ka:k'al	80 (4 x 20)
	etc.	
LAXE	laxeb	10
O	ob	5
	r-o	5th
	o:laxu	15
	o:k'al	100
OŠ	ošib	3
	r-oš	3rd
	oš-laxu	13
	ošk'al	60
	ošexer	3 days ago
	ošex	3 days from now
XUN	xun	1
	xunlaxu	11

PARTICLES AND MISCELLANEOUS EXPRESSIONS

aʔan	that (one)
a c'iʔ aʔan	that dog
aʔin	this (one)
a c'iʔ aʔin	this dog
akweʔ	this (one)
anaqwan	now,today
ani	who?
ma:ni	nobody
ani e:r-e	which of you?
aq	already
aran	there
arin	here
axkwi	also
baiʔus	more,additional
bantioš	thank you
bar	where?
bar kwi	(the place) where
bar kwan	where (there is)
čan ru	how
čaq	particle indicating distance or removal in time or space; ablative particle.
či	to,at,by way of, with respect to,as for,in order to,for...to
ošib či kwakaš	three cows
ško či rilbal li ras	he went to see his brother
či -iš	behind,outside of s.t (→ IŠ)
čiriš čik čiriš aʔan	afterwards,later
či -k'at	beside s.t. (→ K'AT)
či -u	in front of,upon s.t.
liš Juana č'anaʔus č-a:kw-u	Juana is more beautiful than you (are)
čik	another,again
xalan čik	another (one)
ekwer	yesterday
eq'la	early
hon	now,hoy
ink'aʔ	not,no neg. particle
kulax	tomorrow
kulax kulax	every day
kwiʔ	if
k'aʔru	what?
k'aʔut	why?
leʔ	there (farther)
leʔ taq'eq	up there
leʔ taq'a	down there
ma	question particle
ink'aʔ ninnaw ma ...	I don't know whether...
ma:ni → ani	
ma:xun	nothing (→ XUN)
ma:xun nakaʔe	you're welcome
makwa	it is not
mak'aʔ	there does not exist
mare	maybe
ma:xi	not yet
nabal	a lot
naq	that,when subordinating part.
o	or (< Sp. o)
rax	past tense particle (?)
saʔ	in,during
či šaʔ	inside (loc.)
saʔ -be:n	on top of,above s.t.
saʔ c'e	on the left
saʔ nim	on the right
saʔ -ʔan saʔ -ʔi	between s.t.

ta	particle expressing doubt or uncertainty
tox maxi	still,yet
toxe	recently
toxoˀnaq	afterward,then
toxtaq'a	down low(er)
toxtaq'eq	up high(er)
ut	and,but
xarub	how many?
xarubaq	several
xoˀ	as,while
xoˀkan	thus,so
xoˀkan axkwi	also,either
xoˀkaˀin	this way,thus
xoˀq'e	when (→ Q'E)
xun taq'et	almost
ʔixač	half (→ ʔI,XΛČ)

APPENDIX: Historical and Geographical Sketch of K'ekchi within the Mayan Language family: Outline Grammar of K'ekchi

Introduction

This appendix interprets some of the historical, archeological and linguistic data about the Mayans and their languages and presents information about their location. There is specific information about the K'ekchis, as well. Additionally, an outline grammar of K'ekchi is included, which will allow the reader a better understanding of the range of material covered by the contributed papers in the volume.

While the contributed papers, the text and the word list in this volume reflect our direct contact with Flora Ac, our informant, much of the information found in the appendix reflects our contact with the work of other investigators. Burkitt (1902, 1905 and 1920), Willey (1962), Borhegyi (1965), Eachus and Carlson (1965), Haeserijn (1966), Freeze (1970 and forthcoming), Campbell (1971 and 1974), and the Handbook of Middle American Indians (vols. 4 and 7) have provided us with a great deal of ethnographic material and grammatical insight about K'ekchi.

General History

There are, at least, 29 languages which have been identified as Mayan. Figure 5 shows the historical relationships posited by Kaufman (1968) for these languages. K'ekchi is said to belong to the Quichean branch and the Mamean languages are said to form the Eastern Mayan branch, and the Eastern and Western Mayan, the Ucatecan and the Huastecan are said to comprise the four major groupings of Mayan languages.

Speakers of these Mayan languages presently live in the Mexican states of Veracruz, Yucatan and Chiapas, and in the Mexican territory of Quintana Roo as shown in Figure 3. In Guatemala, there are speakers throughout most of the western, central and northeastern parts of the country with three pockets of speakers of Mayan languages found in the southeastern portion. In addition, there are speakers of Mayan languages along the western border and in the northern portion of Belize. Those in Yucatan and Quintana Roo, Mexico, in northern Belize, and in the Petén, Guatemala, may be found living in dense, lowland jungle or flatlands. The rest live in conifer-covered mountainous country. The term "lowland" Mayans corresponds roughly to those Mayans who, presently, live in flatland and/or jungle areas and includes some groups who resided in flatland and/or jungle areas until the early part of this millenia, now being found in the mountainous areas of Chiapas, Mexico, e.g., some groups of the Tzotzilan branch of Mayan speakers.

Archeological or historical data seem to suggest that Mayans were found in the northwestern highland area of Guatemala (the Sierra de los Cuchumatanes) about 2500 B.C. and spread northward, eastward and southward to their present locations over a period of three and one-half millenia.

Mayanists have argued that the Huastecan group branched first at about 2200 B.C. because present day Huastec is non-Mayan in culture and has a high humber of loans and non-Mayan vocabulary. Huastec does, however, share all but one of the phonological innovations which define the Tzotzilan group. These innovations shared by the Huastecan group and Tzotzilan group may be the result of the commercial contact the Cholans (a group of Tzotzilans) had with the Huastecans about 1000 years after the Huastecan branching.

GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY OF MAYAN (KAUFMAN 196

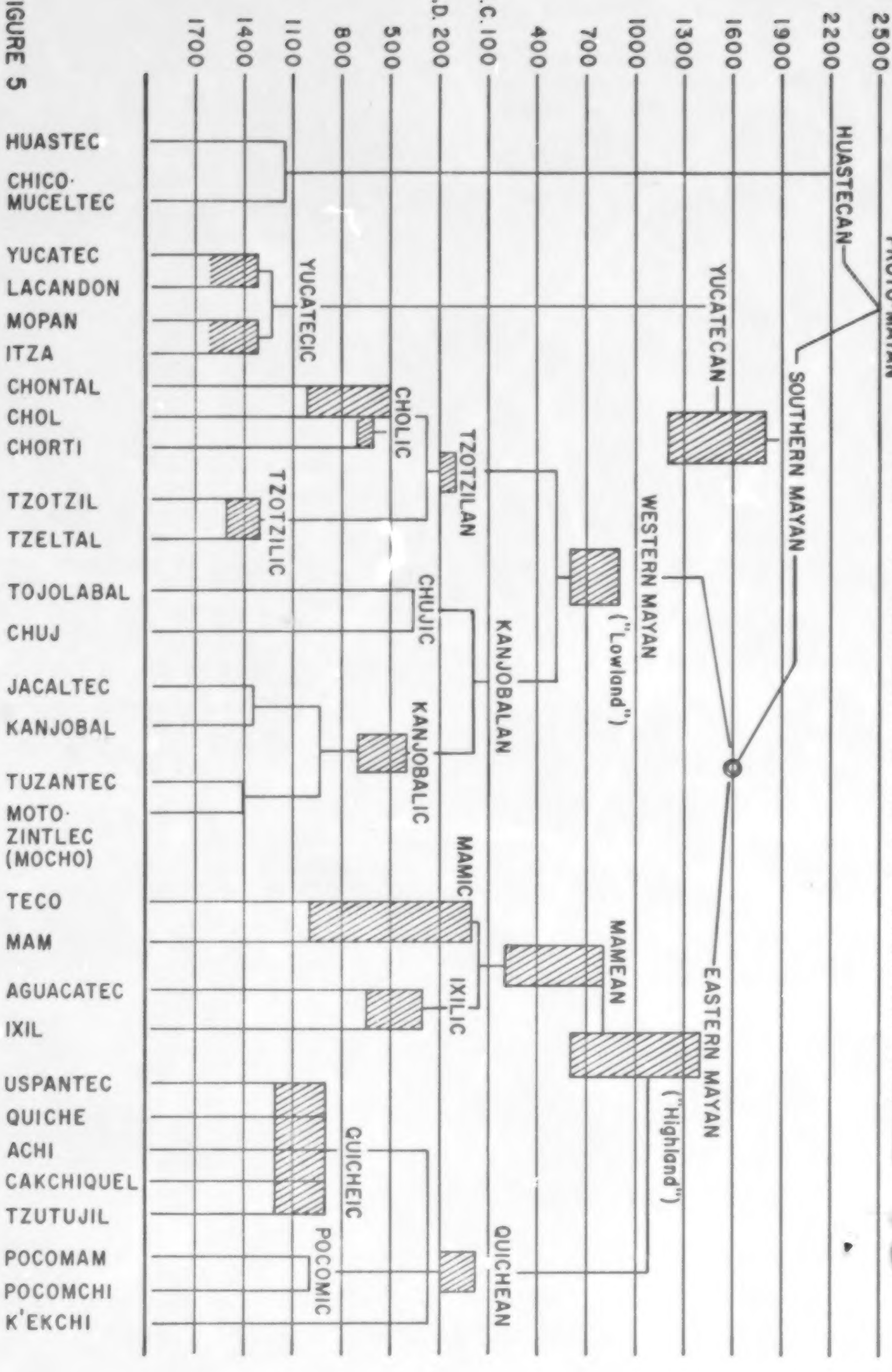
2500
2200
1900
1600
1300
1000
700
400
B.C. 100
A.D. 200
500
800
1100
1400
1700
PROTO-MAYAN
HUASTECAN
SOUTHERN MAYAN
YUCATECAN
WESTERN MAYAN
("Lowland")
EASTERN MAYAN
("Highland")
YUCATECIC
CHOLIC
TZOTZILAN
TZOTZILIC
CHUJIC
KANJOBALAN
KANJOBALIC
MAMIC
MAMEAN
IXILIC
QUICHEIC
POCOMIC
QUICHEAN
HUASTEC
CHICO-MUCELTEC
YUCATEC
LACANDON
MOPAN
ITZA
CHONTAL
CHOL
CHORTI
TZOTZIL
TZELTAL
TOJOLABAL
CHUJ
JACALTEC
KANJOBAL
TUZANTEC
MOTO-ZINTLEC (MOCHO)
TECO
MAM
AGUACATEC
IXIL
USPANTEC
QUICHE
ACHI
CAKCHIQUEL
TZUTUJIL
POCOMAM
POCOMCHI
K'EKCHI

FIGURE 5

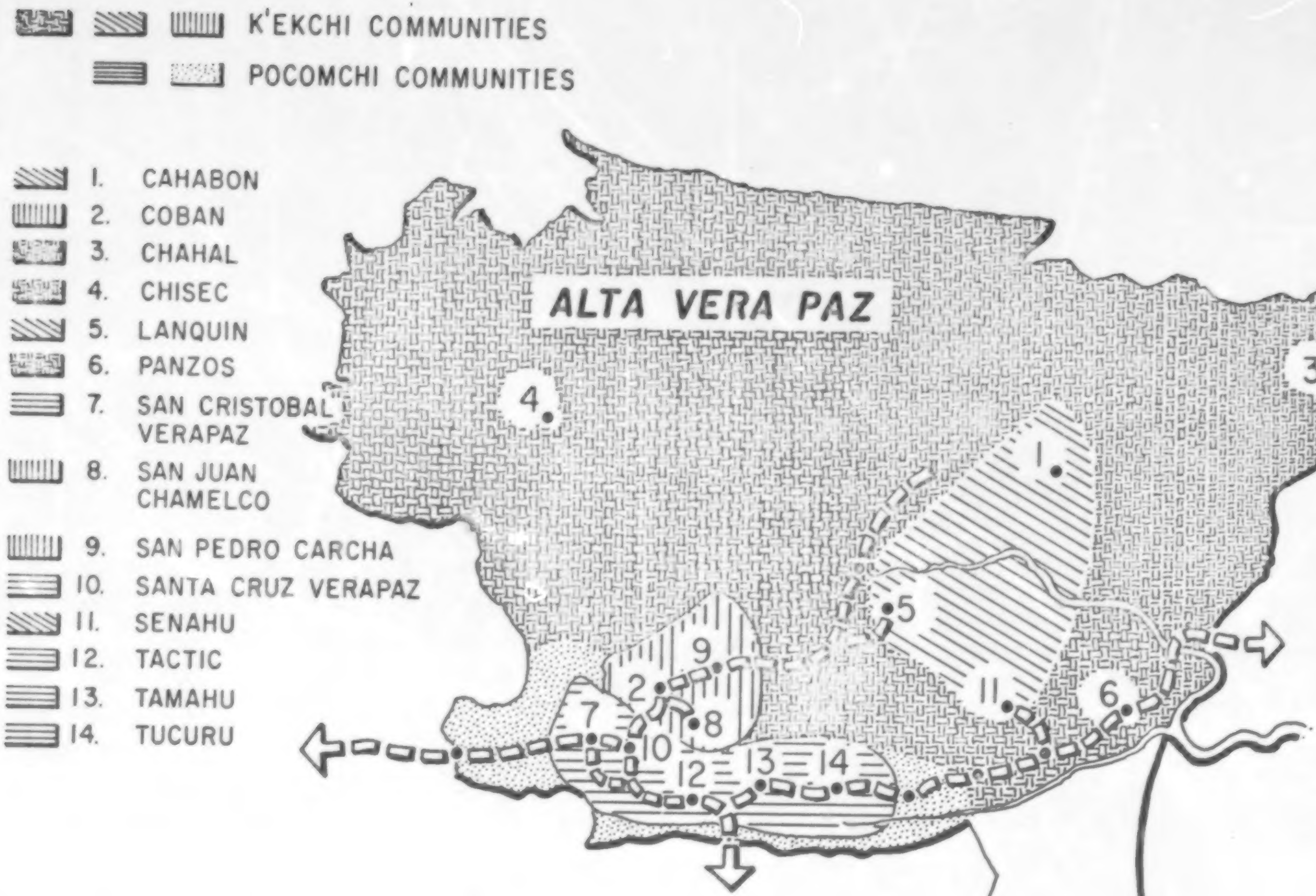
K'EKCHI COMMUNITIES
POCOMCHI COMMUNITIES
1. CAHABON
2. COBAN
3. CHAHAL
4. CHISEC
5. LANQUIN
6. PANZOS
7. SAN CRISTOBAL VERAPAZ
8. SAN JUAN CHAMELCO
9. SAN PEDRO CARCHA
10. SANTA CRUZ VERAPAZ
11. SENAHU
12. TACTIC
13. TAMAHU
14. TUCURU
ALTA VERA PAZ
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14

FIGURE 4

The entire Tzotzilan branch moved from the Guatemalan highlands into the Chiapas, Mexico, lowlands at some point in Mayan history. Part of this group, the Tzotzilic branch, later moved into the Chiapas highlands and settled there. But the Cholic group, the sister branch to the Tzotzilic branch, remained in the lowlands, moving eastward into Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatan (where there may have been some contact with the Huastecans), southward into the Petén and down to the border of Honduras. Palenque, Tikal and Copan, three of the greatest Mayan ruins are believed to be Cholan. The Cholan group established relations with other Meso-American groups and are credited with the florescence of the Classic Lowland Mayan culture. However, this group has greatly diminished in size and importance in modern times. There are only pockets of speakers of Cholan languages scattered in the Petén and in southern Guatemala today.

Highland Mayans, whose classic culture florished about 200 A.D. seem to have had an older, less sophisticated culture than the Mexican, Belizian and the Guatemalan Lowland Mayans, whose classic culture florished about 600-1000 A.D. In the highlands only calendrical inscriptions are found, while in the lowlands hieroglyphs can be found extensively. The ruins at Nebaj, a Mamean ceremonial center, and at Guatemala City, a Quichean ceremonial center, are older in architectural style and actual age and bear only calendrical inscriptions. Highland pottery motifs seem to have been extended and combined with new motifs in the lowlands. Settled-village farming patterns seem to be older in the highlands than in the lowlands. The documented settlement patterns of the Mayans suggest that, in the Guatemalan highlands, populations were extremely small. Language families, e.g., Mamean and Quichean, seem to have consisted of various small villages. As populations grew, people began to settle farther and farther away from the ceremonial centers. By 1000 A.D., the Guatemalan highlands were extensively settled, and groups began to focus on local activities and interests.

The Mayan high culture disintegrated after 1000 A.D. The ceremonial centers were abandoned. A sense of tribalism is thought to have appeared as the Mayans began to war among themselves. By the Spanish Conquest in 1500 A.D., the Mayans were so divided that they were unable to defend themselves from the Spanish.

This interpretation of the archeological and historical facts seems to be consistent with the posited branching shown in Figure 5. The Eastern Mayans began to branch early enough to have their cultural florescence well before the Western Mayans. The Quichean branchings agree with the settlement patterns and the warfare history. Furthermore, the extreme similarity among the Quichean languages supports the short time depth posited for their branching. The tribal identity and warfare after 1000 A.D. argues for a sociopolitical dissimilation which would account for the strong claim of present day speakers of Quichean languages that their languages are similar but not mutually intelligible.

The present K'ekchi population was estimated at over 200,000 people about 1964. The K'ekchis are found in the central part of Guatemala, primarily in the Department of Alta Verapaz.

The Alta Verapaz area was included in the "Tierra de Guerra" or "Tezulutlan," because of the strong resistance of the various Mayan tribes in the area to the Spanish after the Conquest. The K'ekchis do not seem to have suffered any direct military encounters with the Spanish and were brought under control by missionaries.

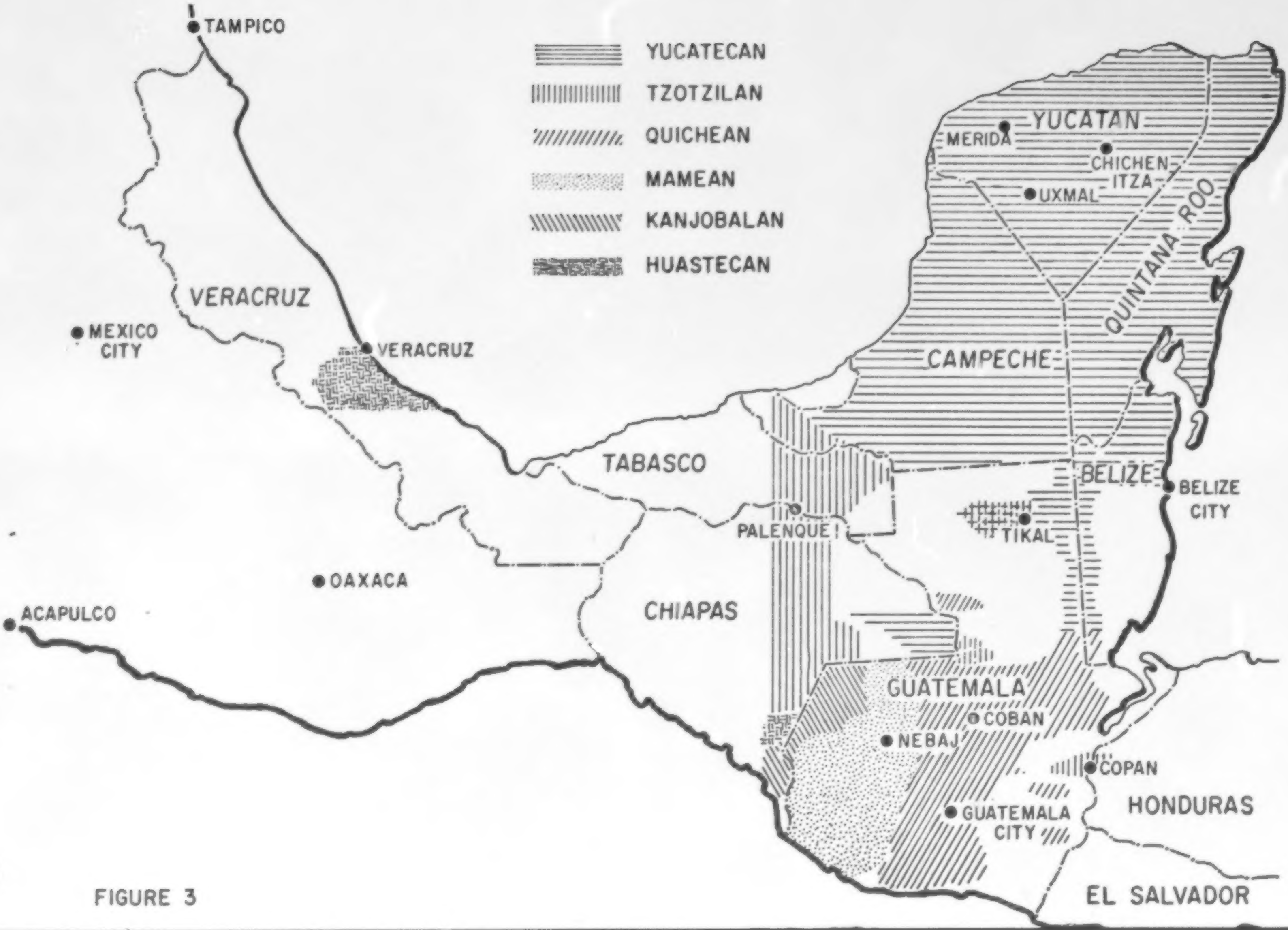
YUCATECAN
TZOTZILAN
QUICHEAN
MAMEAN
KANJOBALAN
HUASTECAN
TAMPICO
VERACRUZ
MEXICO CITY
VERACRUZ
TABASCO
OAXACA
ACAPULCO
CHIAPAS
PALENQUE
YUCATAN
MERIDA
CHICHEN ITZA
UXMAL
QUINTANA ROO
CAMPECHE
BELIZE
BELIZE CITY
TIKAL
GUATEMALA
COBAN
NEBAJ
COPAN
GUATEMALA CITY
HONDURAS
EL SALVADOR

FIGURE 3

Since 1900, the K'ekchis have been expanding north-eastward to the District of Toledo in the southern part of the British colony of Belize. The immediate neighbors to the southeast of the K'ekchis are Spanish speakers; to the east, the Black Caribs; to the northeast, isolated groups of Mopan and Yucatec Maya, who may tend to be Spanish speakers; to the west, the Ixil; and to the southwest and the immediate south, the Pocomchi. According to ethnographic information found in HMAI v. 7, this "linguistic distribution differs from that recorded by Stoll in 1884 because the Chol and Mopan who occupied the Petén have now almost disappeared from that area."

Some of the principal K'ekchi towns and their approximate 1964 populations as given by Eachus and Carlson (1965) are:

town	total K'ekchi population	percent of population K'ekchi
San Pedro Carchá	83,500	97.2
Coban	40,000	88.7
Senahu	30,600	96.2
Cahabon	19,300	96.6
San Juan Chamelco	17,800	97.4
Lanquin	9,200	95.8
Chahal	4,400	97.2
Chisec	1,900	95.7

The location of these towns is shown in Figure 4. Much of K'ekchi territory is in the lowlands, but most of the towns listed above are found in rough terrain with altitudes varying from 600-2000 meters. There seems to be some degree of rivalry between San Pedro Carchá and Coban because the former has the larger population and somewhat better public utilities while the latter is the cultural and governmental capital of the Department of Alta Verapaz. With the recent opening of the new highway between Coban and Guatemala City, which is expected to bring an influx of people and business, Coban may finally have an edge on San Pedro Carchá.

K'ekchi ranks fourth in number of speakers among the Indian languages spoken in Guatemala. A high percentage of the population has been recognized as Spanish-K'ekchi bilinguals. Campbell (1970) groups K'ekchi communities into three dialect groups as shown in Figure 4 on the basis of certain phonological similarities and differences, but all of the dialects are mutually intelligible. Although Figure 4 suggests close geographical proximity between the Pocomchi and the K'ekchi, there is no literature available about the degree of cultural or linguistic interaction of these two Mayan groups.

Outline Grammar

Phonology -

1. The surface contrastive sounds (the phonemes) are: p, t, k, q, b', t', k', q', ʔ, c, c', c', č', s, š, x, h, m, n, l, r, y, w, ŋ, kw, i:, i, e:, e, a:, a, o:, o, u:, u.

2. Some of the phonetic processes in K'ekchi are:

   a. When not initial in a word or a consonant cluster /h/ is dropped. (Campbell 1974). Examples: haʔ 'water' nim-aʔ 'river'; huyuk 'to cry' na:uyut 'he cries'.

   b. The glottalized consonants include true ejectives and a true implosive only in initial position. In medial position, they are pre-glottalized, except for the implosive which may be either pre-glottalized or pharyngealized. In final position, glottalized consonants are deglottalized and unreleased. The glottalization becomes glottalic constriction on the preceding vowel.

c. All voiced sounds are at least partially devoiced in word final position. The implosive is devoiced completely in word final position.

d. /ŷ/ and /kw/ are realized as the glides y and w, respectively, in word final position.

e. Like-sounds across morpheme boundaries are realized as one.

f. A vowel followed by a resonant and a word final obstruent (VRO#) is realized as a long vowel.

g. Stress is word final in K'ekchi and seems to be signalled by pitch rather than duration. Tone, which is found in some Mayan languages is not present in K'ekchi. The general intonational pattern for declarative sentences is a trailing or slightly rising pattern consistent with the word final "pitch" stress.

h. The predominant morpheme shape is CVC, although there are (C)VCV and other stem shapes. Suffixes are mostly of a -(C)VC shape and prefixes are mostly of a (CV)C- shape.

For discussion and examples of items b-h, see Pinkerton 'Phonology' this volume.

Morphology -

1. All morphemes in K'ekchi can be classed into 3 groups: stems, affixes, and particles. (See Freund 'Word List' for examples of each.) Affixes are bound forms, i.e., they can not occur in isolation but may only appear in combination with other morphemes. All particles and most stems are free forms. Some stems, however, are bound forms. Stems are distinguished from particles in that particles may never appear with inflectional affixes, whereas stems may do so quite freely.

2. K'ekchi words may also be divided into 3 classes: verbals, non-verbals and particles. (See Freund 'Morphology' for examples and discussion.) Most particles are words in themselves. Verbals contain tense prefixes, and non-verbals do not. Included in the class of non-verbals are words that behave syntactically like nouns and adjectives, among others. Verbals function syntactically as verbs.

   All words that are not particles are built up according to one of four inflectional patterns called ergative, absolutive, attributive and nominal patterns. Verbal words are inflected on one of the first two patterns; non-verbal words, in one of the latter two. Ergatively inflected verbal words are used in transitive constructions and agree with both their subject and object. Absolutive inflection is used elsewhere and agrees with the subject only.

   Verbal stems may be classified as ergative or absolutive on the basis of the inflectional patterns in which they appear. Each ergative stem (which you may recall is used in syntactically transitive constructions) has a morphologically related absolutive stem associated with it which is used in place of the ergative stem in certain transitive syntactic constructions which do not permit ergative inflection to occur. This is referred to elsewhere in this volume as the transitive absolutive stem. Syntactically intransitive constructions are only inflected on the absolutive pattern. Passive, impersonal and generic-object constructions are also inflected on the absolutive pattern.

Non-verbal stems may be inflected either on the nominal or the attributive pattern. In the latter case, the non-verbal stem functions syntactically as a predicate noun or adjective. Bound stems which are non-verbal are always inflected on the nominal pattern. Nominal stems may also be compounded, a different process. Notice the following examples: coˀ-ak'ač 'male turkey,' awleb'-če 'planting stick,' oš-laxu '13.' In such cases, more than one stem is contained within the word.

3. The formal devices employed to express morphological relationships are affixation, reduplication, and vowel lengthening. Grammatical features that are morphologically marked are number, person, tense, aspect, definiteness, causation and ergativity. Gender distinctions of any kind, e.g., sex, animateness are not formally indicated and numeral classifiers, which are common in other Mayan languages, do not seem to be present.

4. K'ekchi can be typologically classed as a predominantly agglutinating language with respect to its manner of word formation, and can be included in the class of ergative languages by virtue of its morphological treatment of subject and object relationships. Case marking by inflection of the noun is absent, although nominal-like particles which cross-index pairs of nouns or noun phrases in oblique case relationships are created by a genitive-like inflection. (See Stone, this volume.) The marking of the "possessor" noun phrase in these instances parallels the ergative marking of subjects of transitive constructions. The relationships that are understood are those we identify as oblique cases. Other grammatical relations are expressed either analytically by means of preposition-like forms or by inflection of the verb complex.

Syntax -

1. The basic word order of declarative sentences in K'ekchi is VOS. Focus or emphasis is expressed by preposing the subject and/or direct object, but preposing is constrained by the inanimacy of the direct object and the specificity of the subject. (See Pinkerton 'Ergativity' for examples.)

2. K'ekchi has prepositional phrases rather than postpositional ones. These prepositional phrases generally consist of a preposition followed by a noun phrase. (See Stone 'Oblique Cases' for examples.)

3. The genitive is formed by prefixing an ergative pronoun which refers to the possessor to the possessed noun. This surface structure is also the way two noun phrases are cross-indexed in an oblique case marker. (See Stone 'Genitive and Oblique Cases' for examples.)

4. Quantifiers, determiners and demonstratives precede the noun phrases they modify. Adverbial modifiers seem to follow the verb, as a rule, and adjectives seem to follow the noun they modify, as well. There are some cases of adjectives preceding the noun they modify, but there is no information about the constraints for the movement of adjectives.

5. Haeserijn (1966) says that yes/no questions may be asked by using an upward intonation with a declarative sentence. Example: Ak šat kwaˀak? 'Have you eaten yet?' One can also place the particle ma in utterance

initial position and achieve the same result. Example: ma šat kwar či us? 'Did you sleep well?' Similarly, other question particles may request specific information. Example: Bar šat čal? 'Where did you come from?'

6. The negation is formed by placing the particle ma:, or the particle ink'aʔ at the beginning of the sentence. Ink'aʔ may also be used to negate specific phrases within the sentence.

7. Subordinate clauses are marked by particles which are found at their beginning. Naq, for example, marks a noun complement. Kwiʔ marks an adverbial clause. (See Bacon 'Clause Structure' for examples.)

8. Relative clauses are marked the particle li which is found at their beginning. The relative clause follows its head noun. (See Bacon 'Clause Structure' for examples.)

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Additionally, The Summer Institute of Linguistics has published Bibles, religious booklets, pamphlets, hymnals and other material in K'ekchi, most if not all translated by Frances Eachus and Ruth Carlson.